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THE

MEDICAL MEN

OF THE

REVOLUTION,

WITH A BRIEF HISTORY

OF THE

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY.

CONTAINING THE

NAMES OF NEARLY TWELVE HUNDRED PHYSICIANS.

AN ADDRESS

BEFORE THE

ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF JEFFERSON MEDICAL COLLEGE,

MARCH 11, 1876.

BY

J. M. TONER, M.D.,

OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

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TO

SAMUEL D. GROSS, M.D., LL.D., D.C.L. OXON.,

PRESIDENT OF THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF JEFFERSON MEDICAL COLLEGE AND EX-PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION.

Pre-eminent among American Surgeons, not only by a long life devoted to the teaching and practice of surgery, and by steadfast promotion of the interests of the legitimate profession, and the production of a systematic surgical treatise everywhere accepted as authoritative, but also by his original experimental inquiries, brilliant operations, profound erudition, and varied and valuable contributions on almost every branch of medical literature, which have gained for him the highest admiration of the profession in every land,

THIS ALUMNI ADDRESS,

MEMORIAL OF THE SURGEONS OF THE REVOLUTION,

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY THE

AUTHOR.

MEDICAL MEN OF THE REVOLUTION.

GENTLEMEN OF THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION
OF JEFFERSON MEDICAL COLLEGE.

PROFESSORS AND FRIENDS:—

I feel honored in having been selected by you to address this association, but I am also deeply sensible of the responsibility of the position. It is, indeed, at any time a great privilege for an old student to be permitted to speak for his brethren and his *alma mater;* but the distinction is enhanced on this occasion by the fact that we are on the eve of the grand ceremonial which is to confer the doctorate on nearly two hundred new members, whose names will to-morrow be added to the thousands already enrolled among her children.

The College of Physicians of Philadelphia, in whose convenient hall we are assembled, gives interest to the meeting, as it is one of the oldest medical associations of our country. From its organization, nearly a hundred years ago, to the present, it has steadily endeavored to elevate the profession, and has been governed by enlightened principles and high and honorable ethics, which spirit has extended far beyond its members and infused itself into all the medical societies throughout our broad land.

Contemporaneously with the close of the first century of our national existence the Jefferson Medical College has just entered upon the second semi-centennial of its career. Each in its particular sphere encountered difficulties of no ordinary character, and both have gloriously triumphed over every obstacle, and are now standing forth as conspicuous and firmly established institutions, presenting noble examples of results accomplished by talent, energy, and probity admirably adapted to the wants of the age. It is no less fitting

than customary that in public discourses during this centennial year the American mind should, from every possible standpoint and sphere in life, retraverse the checkered pathway that stretches over the one hundred years just past.

In this connection I would fain make an effort to rescue from that oblivion which time remorselessly throws over all human actions the names of those patriots of the revolutionary period belonging to our profession whose biographies have not yet been written, in order to preserve and perpetuate their memory and their noble deeds. Believing that such an endeavor will be preferred by you to the stringing together of sentences of praise to our College, and eulogies of the Faculty and her graduates, I will consider briefly, in passing, the medical profession in the colonies during the struggle for American Independence, and the part it took in that memorable drama. That period in our history was one which required the aid of every citizen who had the intelligence to appreciate liberty and the courage to oppose tyranny. I aim not to eulogize—but to collect material and present a few facts from which history may be written.

From a review of the various actors on the stage of American affairs, it appears that, when the principles of free government were being evolved and matured, no class of society or profession seemed to have deserved higher praise for its efforts to promote this result than that of the physician. By education, and by constant association with all classes, the medical man becomes acquainted with every shade of opinion and every requirement of his day and country. His habit of analyzing the feelings, views, and expressions of the people, makes him their confidant and the efficient and popular counsellor among the masses on all questions of common interest.

Historians have over and over again eulogized the statesman, the orator, the soldier, and the clergyman, who took part in these efforts for independence, but the services of the physician and surgeon have been almost entirely overlooked, if not forgotten.

To speak of the medical organization of the army, and of the physicians and surgeons of the revolution and their ser-

vices to their country, shall be my task. I hope, however, I may be permitted in the outset to express not only a consciousness of my inability to do justice to the theme, but my regret that I have not had at my disposal greater leisure, so that I might have made the study in some degree satisfactory to myself and more worthy of the subject and the occasion.

The medical history of the American revolution properly begins with the first casualties caused by the collision of the British soldiers with the colonists.[1]

It is, however, exceedingly difficult, even at this day, to mark the exact period or dividing line where petitions

[1] From the accession of George the Third to the throne, and of Grenville to the head of the British ministry in 1761, numerous measures, more or less aggressive upon the chartered and constitutional rights of the colonists in America, were introduced into Parliament and moulded in laws. It was in this year that James Otis made his famous speech in a court of Massachusetts in opposition to the "Writs of Assistance," a cunning device of the ministry for the enforcement of its offensive legislation; of which effort Mr. Adams said, "It breathed into the nation the breath of life." The demand, on the part of the American colonies, to be left free to manage their own affairs, was the outgrowth and spirit of a system of education originating in the new world, and strengthened by a habit of self-reliance. The armed struggle for independence, however, was but reluctantly assumed by them; indeed, was forced upon the colonists by the unwise legislation of the mother country. The year following the one mentioned was an era of more than ordinary interest to the colonists, who were now awakening to the serious invasions of those privileges that could not be relinquished without extreme regret and self-humiliation. The Stamp Act, which was so oppressive to the colonies, and which thus became so fruitful an occasion of discord, was to become a law by royal decree on the 22d of March, 1765. It was in opposition to this measure that Col. Barré, in Parliament, made a most stirring and patriotic speech, in which he referred to the colonists as the "Sons of Liberty," a name which they adopted; and the idea thus expressed soon became the popular rallying cry throughout America. (See *Gordon's History of the American Revolution*, vol. i. p. 112.)

This enactment and other similar legislation led Patrick Henry to move in the House of Burgesses of Virginia, and procure the passage of his famous resolution May 29, 1765, asserting the rights of the colonies and their determination to maintain them. Other colonial assemblies and conventions passed like resolutions and prepared petitions of remonstrance, which were sent to the king. Massachusetts, June 6, 1765, passed resolutions proposing a general congress of all the colonies. (*Holmes's Annals.*)

ceased and protest began; where, from mere words of discussion, tumults were excited and the colonists came into collision with the troops of Great Britain.[1]

The spirit of resistance to what was believed to be a violation of their constitutional rights had by years of suffering acquired boldness in all the Provinces. This is shown by the numerous resolutions impugning the right of the mother country to taxation, by resistance to the importation of articles taxed, and by the destruction of tea, which was attempted to be landed at various points.[2]

[1] June 10, 1768, the sloop Liberty was seized in Boston harbor for violating the revenue laws, and placed under the guns of the frigate Romney, which caused a mob to collect and exhibit some violence to the revenue officers. In the city of Boston, Feb. 22, 1770, a tumult arose between some youths and an informer, in which a young man was severely wounded and a boy named Christopher Sinder killed. (*Snow's History of Boston*, p. 278.) A state of ill feeling of a political nature had grown up between the soldiers and some young men employed in John Gray's Rope Walk, which led to a personal encounter on the 3d of March, 1770. Although no one was killed, it served to intensify a hostile feeling which extended widely through the city. (*Drake's History of Boston*, p. 778.) The occurrence at the rope-walk prepared the way for the outbreak in King Street on the fifth of March, usually known as the "Boston Massacre." The soldiers, being insulted and pelted, fired on the taunting crowd in self-defence and without orders. Three persons were instantly killed, Samuel Gray, Crispus Attucks, and James Caldwell. Sam'l Maverick was mortally wounded, Christopher Monk, Patrick Carr, John Clark, Edward Payne, John Green, Robt. Patterson, and David Parker were wounded. The funeral of those killed took place on the 8th, and was attended by an immense procession, six persons walking abreast. Bells were tolled, stores closed, and all business of the city suspended. (*Drake's History of Boston*, p. 783.) The first armed resistance to British encroachment in the colonies was in North Carolina, near the river Allamance, on May 16, 1771. The citizens of the State had organized a force under the name of the "Regulators." Gov. Wm. Tryon (afterwards Gov. of New York) commanded the royal troops, numbering eleven hundred men, of whom he lost sixty in the engagement. The "Regulators" were estimated to have had a force of 2000 men, but were badly officered, and were therefore defeated with considerable loss. A number of the prisoners taken were cruelly executed as traitors. Although temporarily submitting, the spirit of resistance to British rule was aroused. (*Wheeler's History of North Carolina*, vol. ii. p. 18.)

[2] Witness the sending back of vessels in November, 1773, with tea, without breaking cargo, from New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, S. C., and still more by the destruction of tea when its introduction and distribution

The excited condition of the public opinion at that time, as is well known, was much aggravated by military and official duplicity, and the controversy culminated in the collision of arms at Lexington and Concord.[1]

The news of the march of the British troops on Concord was conveyed to the inhabitants by Dr. Samuel Prescott of that town, who, having narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, gave the alarm.[2]

About five o'clock in the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, a company of seventy minute men belonging to Lex-

could not otherwise be prevented. The destruction of tea in Boston harbor by throwing the cargo from the vessels Dartmouth, Eleanor, and Beaver by parties disguised as Indians, took place on the 17th December, 1773, after persistent efforts had been made to send the vessels back to England. (*Gordon's History of Revolution*, vol. i. p. 224.) April 21, 1774, tea was thrown overboard from the ship London, by an Association calling themselves "Mohawks," at the wharf in New York. (*Amer. Arch.*, vol. i. p. 250.) Oct. 14, 1774, a brig named the "Peggy Stewart," loaded with tea, was burned in the harbor of Annapolis, Md., the torch being lighted for her destruction by the owner. (*McSherry's History of Maryland*, p. 174.) At Yorktown, Va., tea was thrown into the river by the citizens of the place, from the ship Virginia, Nov. 7, 1774, in open daylight. Nov. 22, 1774, the cargo of tea brought in the brig Grayhound, and landed and stored at Greenwich, New Jersey, was destroyed by a band of forty men disguised as Indians. (*J. W. Barber's History of New Jersey*, p. 145.) Tea was also destroyed in the harbor of Halifax, Nova Scotia, Sept. 22, 1775; here the "Liberty Boys" threw two tons of tea into the water, and appeared resolute *adherents* of the Colonial interests.

[1] This battle or skirmish of the 19th April, 1775, can hardly be claimed as premeditated, although the resolutions of the people were nearly unanimous to resist at all hazards further encroachments on their rights. The yeomanry and militia of Massachusetts had collected some military stores at Concord as a precautionary measure, at the suggestion of the Prov. Congress. About one thousand British troops were secretly sent by Gen. Gage on the night of 18th April to capture and destroy them. But by the vigilance of Dr. Warren and the "Sons of Liberty," warning of the approach of the British soldiers was communicated to the inhabitants.

[2] Thus we see, that to the vigilance and sagacity of members of our profession was due whatever preparation the Americans had made to defend themselves and their property against the trained British soldiery—to Dr. Jos. Warren, for obtaining and sending information of the expedition, and to Dr. Samuel Prescott, for his courage and enterprise in escaping capture and conveying it, when the other messengers had been made prisoners. (*Frothingham's Siege of Boston*, pp. 60–65.)

ington opposed the progress of Major Pitcairn, commanding the expedition, who called out in an insulting manner—"Disperse, you rebels; throw down your arms and disperse"—which order not being obeyed with the alacrity which he desired, he directed his troops to fire. The result was, the Provincials were dispersed, eight being killed, and a number wounded.[1]

The engagement at North Bridge was sharp and closely contested, with a greater number of casualties on the part of the British troops than at Lexington.

Dr. John Brooks, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts, was a practising physician in Reading, where he commanded a company of militia, which he promptly assembled and gallantly led against the enemy.[2]

In the fight at Concord, the British were so resolutely assailed, that they were obliged to commence a retreat about twelve o'clock in the day.[3]

The militia and minute companies were rapidly increased in number by new arrivals, and the retreat having once begun the British were pursued and attacked at every available point of the route through Lexington back to Bunker's Hill, where they found safety under the guns of the fleet.[4]

The heroism displayed by the Provincials throughout the day was admirable, and the result in a military point of view highly creditable. The killing and wounding of friends by the arms of the parent country added to the keenness of the grief which afflicted the whole community. The violent death of forty-nine neighbors and the wounding

[1] The eight killed were Robert Munro, Jonas Parker, Samuel Hadley, Jonathan Harrington, Caleb Harrington, Isaac Muzzy, and John Brown, of Lexington, and Aziel Porter, of Woburn. (*Holmes's Annals*, vol. ii. p. 205.)

[2] The Americans here lost two killed and four wounded; the British, four killed and thirteen wounded. About a dozen of the wounded were attended by Drs. Timothy Minot and John Cumming, of Concord.

[3] The number of Americans killed at Concord was five, wounded three. The British lost fourteen killed, with twenty wounded and taken prisoners.

[4] The returns from the best accounts are that the Americans had 49 killed, 36 wounded, and 5 missing; the British 73 killed, 174 wounded, and 26 missing. (*Holmes's Annals*, vol. i. p. 526.)

of thirty-six others in one day was in itself a great shock to the feelings of a people rarely disturbed in the quiet of their rural avocations.

It will be remembered that the colony had no regular military establishment of trained and equipped soldiers. The militia gathered impulsively to defend themselves as best they could, and were, therefore, without commissioned officers to take command. Having determined to resist force by force, and to do their best, there was no difficulty as to a leader. All were brave.

History records the names of nine physicians who were in the engagements or rendered medical service to the wounded on the 19th of April, namely: Drs. Wm. Aspinwall, John Brooks, John Cumming, Wm. Dexter, Eliphalet Downer, Timothy Minot, Samuel Prescott, Joseph Warren, and Thomas Welch. Dr. Joseph Warren was Prest. of the Prov. Cong. of Mass., which was in session at this time, and was also Chairman of the Committee of Public Safety. By virtue of this position and his widely recognized ability, he was one of the most influential of the patriots who shaped the course of the colony during the early days of the struggle.[1]

[1] Dr. Joseph Warren ought first to be named on all occasions when patriots are mentioned in connection with these events. He had sent information to Concord and the neighborhood; and followed his messenger in person. He was active in encouraging the militia during the day, and had an earlock shot off in one of the skirmishes, but was not wounded. (*Heath's Memoirs*, p. 14.)

Dr. John Brooks, of Reading, Mass., commanded a company of militia, rendering valuable service. He was also in the battle of Bunker Hill, and served with distinction as a general throughout the war. He was subsequently elevated to the office of chief magistrate of the State. His life reflected honor not only upon the medical profession but upon the whole nation.

Dr. William Aspinwall courageously volunteered and fought at the battle of Lexington, and bore off the lifeless body of Isaac Gardner, commander of the Brookline Company, which had been pierced by twelve bullets. Dr. Aspinwall subsequently married the daughter of this officer. He was a graduate of Harvard University in 1764. Studied medicine with Dr. Benj. Gale, of Connecticut, and attended lectures at the University of Pennsylvania. At the breaking out of the war, on the recommendation of Dr. Joseph Warren, he received the appointment of surgeon in Gen. Heath's

In the Prov. Cong. of Mass. in 1774–5, there were 23 physicians representing various districts of the State, many

brigade. The doctor succeeded, after the death of Zabdiel Boylston, to the chief business of inoculation for the smallpox in New England. He continued this business in a private hospital up to the introduction of vaccination, a practice which he at once adopted and commended to general favor. Died in 1823. (*Thacher's Medical Biography*, vol. i. p. 91.)

Dr. John Cumming was of Scotch parentage; had served as a lieutenant in the French and Indian war of 1755; was captured and for a time held prisoner. He subsequently became eminent as a physician in Concord, where he dressed at his office the wounds of more than a dozen British soldiers wounded at the memorable battle of April 19, 1775. He bequeathed 500 pounds to Harvard University to promote medical science, and died July 3d, 1788, aged 60. (*Thacher's Medical Biography. Harper's Monthly*, May, 1875.)

Dr. Dexter was in the skirmish as a minute man, a sketch of whom will be found among the physicians who were at Bunker Hill.

Dr. Eliphalet Downer, of Roxbury, was engaged in the various actions between the British soldiers and the militia and minute men of Massachusetts on the 19th of April, 1775. He was so eager in his pursuit of the retreating soldiers as to come into personal collision with one whom, in the encounter, he was obliged to kill with his bayonet. He was surgeon to one of the regiments under Gen. Putnam, at Charlestown, in December, 1775, and was kept in readiness for service for days together in expectation of an attack, while the militia fortified Leachmore's Point. (*Heath's Memoirs*, pp. 14–32.)

Dr. Timothy Minot was a graduate of Harvard College in 1747, and long a successful practitioner of Concord, Mass,, where he died August 1, 1804, aged 78. A number of British troops had their wounds dressed by him after the battle on the evening of April 19. He was one of the most influential founders and supporters of the Middlesex Medical Association. (*Allibone's Biographical Dictionary. Harper's Magazine*, May, 1875.)

Dr. Samuel Prescott, of Concord, a warm patriot, who fortunately escaped capture at Lexington when his companions, Paul Revere and Wm. Dawes, who with him were sent to arouse the people and inform them that the British were marching to capture and destroy the military stores at Lexington and Concord, were taken prisoners. The doctor's horse, being spirited, leaped a stone fence, and thus he escaped and was able to give the alarm at every house along the route, so that the Minute Men were aroused and on the ground when the British arrived. (*Frothingham's Siege of Boston*, pp. 60–65.)

Dr. Thomas Welch, a graduate of Harvard in 1772, assisted in taking care of the wounded at the battles of Lexington and Concord. He entered the military service in the revolution as surgeon of the 27th Continental Regiment. He was subsequently connected with the Marine Hospital at

of whom by their devotion to the cause are well known in history.[1]

The assemblies and conventions of the other colonies at this period also furnish us with the names of leading medical men, so that the make up of the Congress of Massachusetts may be taken as the rule of such bodies, and not as an exception.

The battles of Lexington and Concord improved the prospects of a union of the Colonies, from all of which Massachusetts received an expression of sympathy and pledge of support. An army of over 3000 men soon appeared around the environs of Boston, forming a line of encampments from Roxbury to the Mystic River. The British lay closely locked up in the peninsula upon which Boston is situated. The necessity for establishing hospitals for the care of the soldiers now for the first time forced itself upon the consideration of the commanders, and of the Prov. Congress, which body took up the subject immediately after the assembling at Watertown on April 22, 1775. Thus far the colonels and sometimes the captains exercised the power of appoint-

Charlestown, and was consulting physician to the Massachusetts General Hospital. Throughout a long life he enjoyed the love and respect of the whole country. He died in Boston, in 1831, aged 89.

Dr. Joseph Warren. A sketch of this eminent physician and most noted patriot will be found in another place.

[1] Names of the physicians who were members of the Provincial Congress of Mass. in 1774–5: Joseph Batchelder, of Grafton, Worcester Co.; Wm. Bayliss, of Dighton, Bristol Co.; Chauncy Brewer, of West Springfield, Hampshire Co.; Alex. Campbell, of Oxford, Worcester Co.; Benj. Church, of Boston; David Cobb, of Taunton, Bristol Co.; Wm. Dinsmore, of Lancaster, Worcester Co.; John Corbet, of Bellingham, Suffolk Co.; Isaac Foster, of Charlestown, Middlesex Co.; Ephraim Guiteau, of New Marlborough, Berkshire Co.; Jeremiah Hall, of Pembroke, Plymouth Co.; James Hawse, of Westborough, Worcester Co.; Samuel Holten, of Danvers, Essex Co.; Wm. Jamieson, of Meriden, Worcester Co.; David Jones, of Abington, Plymouth Co.; Moses Morse, of Worthington, Hampshire Co.; Richard Perkins, of Bridgwater, Plymouth Co.; Chas. Pynchon, of Springfield, Hampshire Co.; Ebenezer Sawyer, of Wells, York Co.; John Taylor, of Summerburgh, Worcester Co.; Joseph Warren, of Boston; William Whiting, of the towns of Egmont and Alfred, in Berkshire Co. It is probable that there are other physicians whose names deserve a place in the list.

ing surgeons to their commands. To improve the medical service the Second Prov. Congress of Mass. on the 8th of May, 1775, at the instance of the Committee of Safety, created a committee to examine surgeons for the army. This was the first of the kind in America.[1]

Dr. James Thacher, in his military journal of this period, has left a record of the character of these examinations.[2]

An army was formed almost without effort or authority. Men, of every occupation and profession, armed and went individually or in companies to Boston to assist in the defence of the Colony. At first it was hoped that there would be no war, but that an understanding would be reached which would prevent a resort to arms, and leave the Colonies to the enjoyment of their ancient and cherished rights.

[1] Whereas it appears to this committee that great uneasiness may arise in the army by the appointment of surgeons who may not be agreeable to the officers and soldiers in their respective regiments, it is, therefore, voted that it be recommended to Congress to allow the colonel of each regiment to nominate the surgeon of his regiment; said surgeon to nominate his mate, and, unless there is some material objection made against them, that they be accordingly appointed. May 8, 1775. *Ordered*, That the president *pro tem.*, Dr. Church, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Holten, and Dr. Dinsmore, be appointed a committee to examine such persons who are or may be recommended as surgeons for the army now forming in the Colony.

Resolved, That persons recommended by commanding officers of the several regiments be appointed surgeons of their several regiments, provided they appear duly qualified upon examination.

June 2, 1775. *Ordered*, That Dr. Whiting and Dr. Bayliss be added to the committee which was appointed by the last Congress to examine those persons who might be nominated for surgeons of the Mass. Army. June 16, 1775, Drs. Hall and Jones were added to the committee to examine surgeons for the army.

Resolved, That any three of said committee be a quorum.

[2] July 17, 1775. Thacher's Military Journal says: "On the day appointed the medical candidates, sixteen in number, were summoned before the board for examination. This business occupied about four hours; the subjects were anatomy, physiology, surgery, and medicine. It was not long after that I was happily relieved from suspense by receiving the sanction and acceptance of the board, with more acceptable instructions relative to the faithful discharge of duty and the humane treatment of those soldiers who may have the misfortune to require my assistance. Six of our number were privately rejected as being found unqualified. The examination was in a considerable degree close and severe, which occasioned not a little agitation in our ranks.'

There was as yet no regularly constituted military establishment to resist aggression or repel force. The exigencies of the hour required the services of military leaders and medical men, otherwise, failure would have been inevitable. As yet, the only real or pretended source of authority was the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts.[1]

The Congress and Council of Safety of this colony were, therefore, naturally looked to by the patriots for guidance.

Happily, these bodies had in them men of ability and courage who acted with rare wisdom, promptness, and decision. Addresses were issued to the people; able generals were selected to command; the militia was organized and made familiar with the duties of the soldier, and supplies of all kinds were collected. Hospitals were established, and surgeons appointed to them as well as to the regiments; medicines and medical stores were provided. At an early day in the controversy, through the sagacity of Samuel Adams, committees of correspondence and councils of safety had been established in nearly every town and county within the several colonies. Through these channels the different sections of the country were kept advised of the actual state of feeling among the people, as well as of the movements of the enemy.[2]

[1] May 13, 1775, "Committee of Safety voted, that General Thomas be desired to deal out medicine to such persons as he shall think proper, for the use of the sick soldiers at Roxbury, until the surgeons for the respective regiments are regularly appointed." (*Journ. Prov. Cong. Mass.*, p. 544.)

May 14. "Mr. Andrew Craigie, Commissary of the medical stores, was directed and empowered to impress beds, bedding, and other necessaries for the sick as they may be wanting, giving the owners a receipt for such articles as they may take for the purpose aforesaid." (*Journ. of Prov. Cong.*, p. 545.)

[2] Third Prov. Cong. of Mass., June 12, 1775, *Ordered*, "that Dr. Whiting, Dr. Taylor, and Mr. Parks, be a committee to consider some method of supplying the several surgeons of the army with medicines." (*Journ. Prov. Cong. Mass.*, p. 321.) "The committee appointed to consider the method for supplying the surgeons in the army with medicines reported; the report was read and accepted, and is as follows: The committee appointed to take into consideration a complaint that surgeons in the army are not properly furnished with medicine, have attended to that service, and beg leave to report, that whereas it appears that there is not as yet a sufficient number of medicine chests

An hospital had been opened in Charlestown for soldiers, immediately after the battles of Concord and Lexington, if not earlier. Up to this time the sick had been cared for in private houses.[1]

Diplomacy having failed, the Continental Congress, then in session at Philadelphia, began to realize more fully the determined purpose of Great Britain to subjugate the Colonies, and on the 26th of May, 1775, passed resolutions that the Colonies be put in a state of defence, and that 20,000 men should be immediately equipped.

The colony of Massachusetts had, through her Provincial Congress, on the 26th of October, 1774, recommended the organization of her militia into companies and their equipment. Most of the other Colonies had only a theoretical

provided to furnish each regiment with a distinct chest; and whereas the Committee of Supplies are making provision for supplying each regiment with such medicine chests as soon as possible: therefore, *Resolved*, That the Committee of Supplies be, and are hereby directed immediately to furnish the surgeons of the First Regiment at Roxbury, each of them with a medicine chest, for the present, and that all other surgeons in the army at Cambridge and Roxbury have free recourse to the said chests, and be supplied from them from time to time as they shall find occasion, until more ample provision shall be made for them, all of which is humbly submitted, and the committee beg leave to sit again." As early as Dec. 20, 1774, the Committee of Safety and Supplies voted unanimously that Dr. Warren, Dr. Church, and the Hon. John Hancock be a committee to inspect the commissaries' stores in Boston, and report what surgeons' stores and stores of other kind are there. (*Journ. Prov. Cong. Mass.*, p. 506.)

[1] The Committee of Safety, April 29, 1775, voted that Maj. Bigelow be applied to, to furnish a man and horse to attend the surgeons, and convey medicines agreeable to their directions. (*Journ. Prov. Cong. Mass.*, p. 521.) *Voted*, That Dr. Isaac Foster be directed and empowered to remove all sick and wounded, whose circumstances will permit of it, into the hospital, and to supply proper beds and bedding, clothing, victuals, and furniture, with every other article which he shall judge proper for said hospital, and that this be sufficient order for him to draw on the commissary for such articles as he can supply, and to draw orders upon the commissary for payment of whatever expenses are necessary for procuring the above-mentioned articles. (*Journ. Prov. Cong. Mass.*, p. 527.)

The house of Gov. Oliver, in Cambridge, was used as an hospital, and that of the Rev. Samuel Cooks in West Cambridge.

August 21, 1775, Mr. Fairweather's house, in Cambridge, was fitted up for and used as an hospital.

military system or quasi military organization, with but very few arms and no military stores.[1]

The province of Massachusetts had, under the circumstances, made all the martial preparation possible for defending her rights, and which seemed in the opinion of the commanders to justify more active operations. The first movement, however, brought on the engagement which is known in history as the battle of "Bunker's Hill," and the "Burning of Charlestown." In that engagement the Americans numbered, all told, according to the estimate of General Washington, 2200, of which, perhaps 1500 were in action; while the British had not less than 4000 trained soldiers. The battle was closely contested, so that the number killed and wounded on both sides was, considering the force engaged, large, with a more than ordinary proportion of officers.[2]

There has been some question among historians as to whom belongs the honor of commanding the Provincials. Dr. James Thacher, a surgeon in active service throughout the war, and who kept a journal of events supposed to have been recorded at the time, says on page 29, "On the American side, Generals Putnam, Warren, Pomeroy, and Colonel Prescott were emphatically the heroes of the day, and their

[1] Prov. Cong., Mass., Oct. 26, 1774, *Resolved*, That as the security of the lives, liberties, and properties, of the inhabitants of this province depends, under Providence, on their knowledge and skill in military art, and their being properly and effectually armed and equipped, it is therefore recommended that they immediately provide themselves therewith; that they use their utmost diligence to perfect themselves in military skill; and that if any of the inhabitants are not provided with arms and ammunition according to law, and that if any town or district within the province is not provided with a full stock of arms and ammunition according to law, that the selectmen of such town or district shall take effectual care, without delay, to provide the same. P. 34.

[2] The British had 226 killed, 828 wounded. The Americans, 129 killed, 314 wounded and missing; among the latter 36 had been taken prisoners. (*Thacher's Journ.*, p. 30.) The British had 19 commissioned officers killed, and 70 wounded. The Prov. officers of note killed were Gen. Joseph Warren, of Boston; Colonel Gardner, of Cambridge; Lieut. Col. Parker, of Chelmsford; Major Moore, and Major McClancy. (*Holmes's Annals*, vol. ii. p. 211.)

unexampled efforts were crowned with glory. The incomparable Colonel Prescott marched at the head of the detachment, and, though several general officers were present, he retained the command during the action." To these names should be added those of Gen. Ward and Gen. Joseph Warren. The latter fell in the engagement. The whole community mourned the doctor's death, for all classes ranked him among the brightest of their patriots. Those familiar with the history of these times will recollect that at the motion of Samuel Adams the colonies had sent delegates to a Congress which met in New York, Oct. 7, 1765, and which, fortunately, before adjourning provided for the calling of another in case the public welfare required. This apprehended emergency had arisen, and a Congress of all the colonies was called, and met in Philadelphia September 5, 1774. They held a session of a little less than two months, which afforded an opportunity for conferring freely upon the condition and interests of the colonies, and having adopted a bill of rights, and again petitioned the king, adjourned October 26, without adopting any resolutions of union. In the event that no relief to their grievances should be granted, it was recommended that another Congress assemble in Philadelphia May 10, 1775. If any disposition had been wanting, the events of the winter and the skirmishes at Concord and Lexington determined the necessity for this Congress. The term "United Colonies" was first used officially in a resolution passed June 7, 1775, appointing the twentieth day of July as a day of prayer to be observed "by the twelve United Colonies." Georgia at this time was not represented in Congress.

It was characteristic of the chivalry of America that the Colonies should declare themselves free and independent by the adoption of the Declaration of Independence as they did on the 4th of July, before they would agree upon a definite union among themselves.[1]

[1] It is true the subject of a Union of the Colonies had been somewhat considered. A recommendation from Great Britain as early as the French War was made to the several governors for a "Union for Defence." As a step in this direction the Commissioners of Plantations invited a convention of

Articles of Confederation between the Provincial Colonies were only agreed upon on the 12th day of July, 1776; so it will be seen that the battles of Lexington and Concord, the capture of Fort Ticonderoga, the capture of Crown Point, and the battle of Bunker Hill were fought by the four New England Colonies without treaties of union, but with earnest sympathy and interest in perfect accord.[1] The reason that the names of the colonies of Maine and Vermont do not appear in the list will be given in another place.

The term "United States" was, by resolution of Congress, substituted, in all commissions and official papers, for that of "United Colonies," on the 9th of Sept. 1776.

The autonomy of a nation was created by the adoption of the Declaration of Independence and the recognition of a government in the Continental Congress. The battle fought

delegates from all the colonies to assemble in Albany, N. Y., on the 14th of June, 1754, for the purpose of holding a conference with the Six Nations, and securing their friendship. Governor Shirly, of Massachusetts, suggested to the governors that the delegates be instructed to consider the subject of a grand union. Seven colonies were represented, namely: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. Dr. Franklin, a member of this convention, strongly advocated a union for defence and also for government. He prepared a plan which was adopted by the convention, but as it had to be referred to Parliament, it was there opposed by the Board of Trade, and thus defeated.

The next step that showed co-operation, and a more successful one, was the resolution of association against importation, adopted by the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, October 18, 1774.

[1] In a note in Frothingham's *History of the Siege of Boston*, Prest. Adams says: "The army at Cambridge was not a national army, for there was no nation. It was not a United States army, for there were no United States. It was not an army of United Colonies, for it could not be said in any sense that the Colonies were united. The centre of their union, the Congress of Philadelphia, had not adopted nor acknowledged the army at Cambridge. It was not a New England army, for New England had not associated. New England had no legal legislature nor any common executive authority even upon the principles of original authority, or even of original power in the people. Massachusetts had her army, Connecticut her army, New Hampshire her army, and Rhode Island her army. These four armies met at Cambridge and imprisoned the British army at Boston. But who was the sovereign of this united, or rather, congregated army, and who its commander-in-chief? Putnam, Poor, Green, were as independent of Ward, as Ward was of them."

at Boston, which threw the whole country into the highest state of excitement and alarm, was followed so naturally the next year by the Declaration of Independence, as to give eclat and popularity to the latter measure, as it flattered the martial spirit and pride of the country.

It was a sad Saturday night and Sunday which followed the battle of Bunker Hill. The carrying of the wounded to their homes or to private houses and hospitals; the burying the dead with all the scenes of private grief and camp excitement, gave a mournful aspect to the day and to the religious exercises, which were well calculated to produce a profound impression on all who were capable of reflection. The private houses could no longer accommodate the sick and wounded, so that additional hospitals had to be improvised. The wounded during the battle were removed to the west side of Bunker's Hill, and from there to Cambridge. The army had no well-disciplined corps ready with convenient "stretchers" on which to convey the wounded from the field of action to the rear, or comfortable ambulances to take them thence to the hospital. The soldier's blanket, with muskets or poles, improvised a sort of cot, and the common wagon, cart, or sled was the precursor for the roomy and easy-motioned ambulance used in the army of the present day.[1]

[1] June 19, 1775, the Prov. Cong. of Mass. appointed Dr. Hall, Dr. Jones, and Mr. Bigelow a committee to consider the expediency of establishing another hospital for the sick and wounded of the army, and ordered to sit forthwith.

"The committee appointed to consider the expediency of establishing another hospital for the army, report that a house belonging to Dr. Spring of this place (Watertown) may be had for the purpose; wherefore

"*Resolved*, That said committee be directed to inquire at what rate per month Dr. Spring will let the same."

"The same day," upon motion made, "*Resolved*, that the house of Mr. Hunt, at Cambridge, be hired for a hospital, and that the committee appointed to treat with Dr. Spring, be a committee to hire the same. The committee appointed to confer with Dr. Spring relative to the use of his house for another hospital, reported, That they judge it really expedient to have another hospital established; and that they judge that the house of Dr. Spring, in Watertown, is convenient for that purpose, and that he is willing said house should be improved by the province for that use, but at present,

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts on the 22d of June, 1775, took further steps to secure a greater number of surgeons so as to insure proper attention to the sick and wounded in the hospitals.[1]

Greater surgical proficiency and a more regular system for the prompt care and treatment of sick and wounded soldiers had now become a necessity, and Congress was active in affording relief in every possible way.[2]

The surgeons then in service were instructed to improvise hospitals as best they could. The patriotism of all classes was so active and sympathetic that this was for the time an easy matter.

As might be expected, the demand for hospital accommodation was increasing.[3]

cannot ascertain the damage it may be to him, but is willing to submit that matter to judgment of a committee to be hereafter appointed by the Hon. Congress or the House of Assembly. By order, J. HALL."

W. Hunt, in behalf of the proposition of the house, desired for the use as an hospital, sent Congress the following:—

Gents: With respect to the hire of the house belonging to John Hunt, Esq., for an hospital, the proprietor only expects such a consideration from the colony as will be satisfactory for the necessary damage to the house, expecting proper care will be taken; that the outhouses, etc., be kept in good order.

[1] June 19, 1775. *Ordered*, That Dr. Church, Dr. Taylor, and Dr. Whiting, be a committee to consider what method is proper to be taken to supply the hospitals with surgeons; and that the same gentlemen be a committee to provide medicines and other necessaries for the hospitals. (*Journ. Prov. Cong. Mass.*, June 19, 1775.)

[2] *Journ. Prov. Cong. Mass.*, June 22, 1775. *Resolved*, That (the colonels) in the Massachusetts army be, and they are hereby directed immediately to inform the committee appointed by Congress to examine the surgeons of said army, whom they recommend for surgeons and surgeons' mates of their respective regiments, and send them to said committee for examination without delay except such as have been examined. This was sent to General Ward.

[3] June 19, 1775. The Committee of Safety of Mass. *Resolved*, That the house of the Rev. Samuel Cook, of Menotomy, be improved as a hospital for the colony army, and that Mr. William Eustis be, and is hereby appointed to the care of the sick and wounded in said hospital till the further order of this committee. *Ordered*, That Dr. Isaac Foster be, and hereby is directed to take up and improve as hospital, so many houses in Menotomy as he may find necessary for the safety of the sick and wounded of the

On the 22d of June, the Provincial Congress appointed Dr. Francis Kittredge to attend the hospital until further order of Congress, and instructed the colonels to nominate suitable persons to act as surgeons to the regiments.[1]

An hospital was also directed to be provided for the camp at Roxbury, and a committee appointed to carry the measure into effect.[2]

Contagious diseases, the pest of armies, had actually begun to be an additional source of anxiety, and provision was therefore made to treat in a separate hospital soldiers attacked with smallpox.[3]

Colony army, and that he employ such person or persons as may be necessary to carry such provisions and other necessaries as may be wanted for the further use of the aforesaid sick and wounded; and that further he take such precautions, respecting the smallpox hospital, as may be necessary for the prevention of the spreading of that epidemical disorder in the camp or elsewhere.

[1] *Ordered*, That Doct. Francis Kittredge be desired to attend the hospital as a surgeon till the further order of Congress; and that Mr. Kendall be desired to inform Dr. Kittredge of his appointment. *Ordered*, That the colonels in the several regiments in the Massachusetts army be directed to recommend immediately suitable persons for surgeons, and surgeons' mates.

[2] June 22, The Prov. Congress of Massachusetts "*Ordered*, That a hospital be provided for the camp at Roxbury, and that Col. Davis, Dr. Taylor, and Dr. Whiting, be a committee to provide one accordingly, and supply the same. June 23, the committee appointed to provide a hospital for the camp at Roxbury, reported as follows: "That they have appointed the house belonging to Joshua Loring in said Roxbury, for a hospital, and for the use of said camp." The report was accepted. *Journ. Prov. Cong. of Massachusetts*, 375, 378, The experiences of the war amply demonstrate the great importance of good hygienic and sanitary provisions for the troops. We observe that Massachusetts from the commencement of hostilities enjoined vigilance in this regard on the part of her medical officers, and military commanders. Her Council of Safety, as well as public sentiment, coöperated to preserve the health, and make her soldiers efficient.

[3] June 27, Prov. Congress of Massachusetts "*Ordered*, That the committee appointed to provide hospitals for the army, be directed to provide another hospital, to be appropriated solely for such of the army as may be taken with the smallpox, and to consider what measures can be taken to prevent the spreading of that distemper; and that Dr. Rand and Dr. Foster be added to the committee." *Voted*, by the same body, June 24, That there shall be two surgeons and two mates appointed for each hospital, and commissioned accordingly. "*Ordered*, That the committee appointed to examine the surgeons, be desired to report an establishment for the surgeons of

The form of a warrant or commission to be issued to surgeons of the army and the hospital department, was adopted by the Provincial Congress of Mass., on the 28th of June, 1875. The same form was, with a variation as to character of service, used for surgeons' mates, who were also ranked among the commissioned officers.[1]

On the first of July, the Congress of Massachusetts directed a committee of three, Dr. Taylor chairman, to report how the sick and wounded should be removed to the hospitals, and on the 3d of July a committee was appointed to prepare a letter to Gen. Washington, who had just assumed the command of the army, and inform him what provisions had been made for the sick and wounded.[2]

hospitals." This committee reported as follows: "That it is their opinion, that the establishment of the chief surgeons should be at the rate of eight pounds per month, and each mate, four pounds ten shillings per month." (*Journ. Prov. Cong. of Massachusetts*, p. 383–4.)

[1] June 28, 1775. Adopted the following form for the warrant of a surgeon. "The Congress of the Massachusetts Bay to *A. B.* Greeting. Being informed of your skill in surgery, and reposing especial trust and confidence in your ability and good conduct, we do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you, the said *A. B.*, to be surgeon of the regiment of foot, whereof ——— is Colonel, raised by the Congress aforesaid, for the defence of said Colony. You are, therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of a surgeon to the said regiment; in all things appertaining thereunto; observing such orders and instruction as you shall from time to time receive from the Colonel of said regiment, according to military rules and discipline established by said Congress; or any of your superior officers, for which this shall be your sufficient warrant. By order of the Congress." (*Journ. Prov. Cong. of Massachusetts*, p. 415.)

[2] Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, July 1, 1775. "The committee appointed to devise means for the better accommodation of the sick and wounded of the army reported. The report was read, and is as follows, viz.: In order that all the sick and wounded be provided for and taken care of, in the best way and manner possible, *Resolved*, and it is hereby *Ordered*, That when any person in the army is so ill, either by a wound or otherwise, that the surgeon of said regiment to which the sick or wounded man belongs, finds the sick or wounded as aforesaid cannot be properly taken care of in the regiment to which he belongs, the said surgeon shall send the sick or wounded as above said, to the hospital provided for the use of the camps to which they belong, and a certificate of the names named and the company and regiment to which he belongs; and in that case the surgeon of said hospital shall receive said wounded or sick under his care, and in case said hos-

On the 4th of July a list of surgeons and surgeons' mates who had up to this time been examined and approved by the committee was reported to the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and warrants ordered to be made out for them.[1]

pital shall become too full, in that case the surgeon of said hospital shall send such of his patients as may be with safety removed, to the hospital in Watertown, and a certificate setting forth the man's name, what company and regiment each belongs to, and in that case the surgeon of the Watertown hospital shall receive said sick and wounded under his care. (*Journ. Prov. Cong. of Massachusetts*, p. 437.) July 1st, 1775, an address of welcome was prepared by the Prov. Congress of Mass. and presented to his Excellency Gen. George Washington, and another to Maj. Gen. Charles Lee. (See *Journ. Prov. Cong. of Massachusetts*, p. 438–440.) The committee also reported the following letter, July 5, 1775. "To his Excellency, Gen. Washington. The Congress ordered the enclosed resolutions (relating to the present condition and proposed improvement of the hospitals) to be prepared and sent to Generals Ward and Thomas; but by the agreeable event of your Excellency's appointment to the chief command of the American army, and arrival at camp, the propriety of that step ceases. We mean not to dictate to your Excellency, but presume, that to secure the health of the army, and (to afford) relief for the sick, will naturally engage your attention. Everything in the power of this Congress (to do) to enable you to discharge with ease the duties of your exalted and important station, will be by us attended to with the greatest alacrity. If the enclosed resolution has that tendency, we attain the end intended by transmitting to you the same, and with respect your Excellency's most humble servants." (*Journ. Prov. Cong. of Mass.*, p. 455.)

[1] July 4, 1775. A list of surgeons and surgeons' mates to whom warrants were directed to be issued, and bearing the date of 28th of June, 1775, from *Journ. Prov. Cong. of Massachusetts*, p. 449. Dr. David Jones, surgeon; Samuel Blanchard, mate in Col. Gereish's regiment; Aaron Putnam, mate in Col. Frye's regiment; Joseph Hunt, mate to Dr. Joseph Foster, in Cambridge Hospital; Jacob Bacon, mate in Col. Scammon's regiment; Harris Clary Fridges, mate; Edward Durant, surgeon, Col. Mansfield's regiment; Josiah Harvey, mate, Col. Fellow's regiment; Abraham Watson, Jr., surgeon; Wm. Vinal, mate, Col. Gardner's regiment; Dr. John Georges, mate, Gen. Heath's regiment; Dr. Isaac Spofford, surgeon, Col. Nixon's regiment; Dr. John Crooker, surgeon in Col. Scammon's regiment; Dr. Walter Hastings, surgeon in Col. Bridges' regiment; Dr. Timothy Child, surgeon in Col. Patterson's regiment; Dr. Levi Willard, surgeon in Col. Reed's regiment; Dr. Daniel Parker, surgeon in Col. Walker's regiment; and Dr. Thomas Kittridge, surgeon in Col. Fry's regiment. Thereupon *ordered* that warrants be made out for them agreeably thereto."

We find that thirty-one medical men rendered service in the Battle of Bunker's Hill.[1] Most of them were at the

[1] Brief sketches of the lives of the Colonial Surgeons who were at the Battle of Bunker Hill are here given in alphabetical order.

Dr. Elijah Adams was born in Pomfret, now Brooklyn, Connecticut, Feb. 17, 1754. In May, 1775, he was appointed mate in Col. Israel Putnam's regiment, which he joined at Cambridge, Mass., and in this capacity he was in the Battle of Bunker's Hill, where some thirty of the regiment were wounded. About the last of June, or early in July, 1775, Dr. John Morgan, of Philadelphia, arrived, and took charge of the hospital as Director General. Dr. Adams was discharged in January, 1776. In the spring of 1776 he removed to Worthington, Hampshire Co., Mass., and there pursued his profession until the evacuation of Fort Ticonderoga by Gen. Arthur St. Clair. In July, 1777, when a call was made for troops to oppose the progress of Gen. Burgoyne, he volunteered as surgeon to the regiment commanded by Major Clapp. He was discharged with the regiment on parole in September of the same year. He practised his profession at Worthington, until 1786, when he removed to North East, afterwards Pine Plains, Dutchess Co., N. Y.

Dr. Jacob Bacon was present at the Battle of Bunker's Hill as a mate in James Scammon's regiment, of which John Crooker was surgeon. (*Frothingham's Siege of Boston. Amer. Arch.*, 4th ser., vol. ii. p. 1481.)

Dr. Samuel Blanchard was commissioned by the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, July 5, 1775, as surgeon's mate to Dr. Jones in Col. Gerrish's regiment. He was present, however, as a Minute Man at the Battle of Bunker Hill. (*Amer. Arch.*, 4th ser., vol. ii. p. 1481.)

Dr. James Brickett was a physician, but served in this engagement as Lieut-Col. in James Frye's regiment (commissioned May 27, 1775), was wounded early in the action, and with other surgeons repaired to the north side of the hill and remained in attendance upon the wounded. He was also commissioned by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts a surgeon. (*Siege of Boston*, p. 176.)

John Brooks, M.D., LL.D., b. Medford, Mass., May 31, 1752, d. March 1, 1825. He rec'd a common school education, and at the age of 14 was apprenticed for seven years to Dr. Simon Tufts, of Reading, to be inducted into the art and mystery of the medical science. He settled to practice in Reading, Mass., where from his fondness for the military service he was chosen captain of a militia company, which he called out on the memorable 19th of April, and did good service. He was appointed May 27, 1775, Major in Ebenezer Bridges' Reg't, and was active in entrenching Breed's Hill on the night preceding the engagement, known as "the Battle of Bunker Hill."

On the reorganization of the army in 1776, he was made Colonel of Chas. Webb's reg't, and assisted in fortifying Dorchester Height. He was a vigilant officer, a good disciplinarian, and his command was distinguished for good service and gallant conduct throughout the war. In 1777 he was

time or soon after became surgeons or surgeons' mates. A

appointed Lieut. Col. of the 8th Mass. regt., and on the death of Col. Allen was promoted to the colonelcy. He was in active duty, and performed a most creditable service to the cause of American liberty, and to Gen. Washington.

After peace was declared, he resumed practice at Medford, Mass., and was for many years maj.-general of the militia, and served in the legislature of his State. He was a delegate to the convention for adopting the Federal Constitution, which he zealously advocated. He was appointed marshall of the district, and subsequently, inspector of the revenue by President Washington, was elected to the State Senate, and during the war of 1812 was adjutant-general of the State of Mass. In 1816, he received from Harvard Univ. the honorary degree of M.D., LL.D.

In 1817, he was President of the Mass. Med. Soc. and for a number of years after. He was also President of the Soc. of the Cincinnati of Mass. His life as a physician and a citizen shed lustre upon his State and the nation.

Dr. John Crocker was commissioned July 5, 1775, by the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, surgeon in Col. Scammel's regiment. (*Amer. Archives*, 4th ser., vol. ii. p. 1481.)

Dr. William Dexter. Born April 17, 1755. Studied medicine with Dr. Edward Flint of Shrewsbury, Mass., and was mate to him in the service. He appears to have also been a "minute man," and was at the fight at Concord and Lexington, April 19, 1775; he immediately after joined Col. Ward's regiment, in which he was appointed mate, June, 1775; in this capacity he was in the Battle of Bunker's Hill; continued in the medical department during the war. At the time of his marriage, Feb. 17, 1775, to Elizabeth or Betsey Bouker of Shrewsbury, he was living at Marlboro. He died Dec. 4, 1785. He had four children, Eleanor, Lydia, Sally, and William. (MS. in Dr. Toner's Library.)

Dr. Eliphalet Downer was a resident of Roxbury, Mass., in 1794–5. In 1777 he was appointed surgeon to the cutter "Dolphin," but the roll does not show how long he served. In Sept. 1777, his name appears on the roll of the brig "Lexington," as a passenger, when she had an engagement with the British cutter "Alert," in the English Channel. In this action he was wounded in the left arm, impairing its strength and usefulness. He was present as surgeon with the Colonial troops who were sent to prosecute the work at Lechmere's Point, Dec. 18, 1775. By a resolve of the Massachusetts Council, Oct. 23, 1776, he was reimbursed, among others, not physicians, for losses sustained at the battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill. (*Amer. Archives*, 5th ser., vol. iii. p. 408. *Heath's Memoirs*, p. 32. MS. in Dr. Toner's library.)

Dr. Edward Durant was commissioned by the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, July 5, 1775, surgeon in Col. Mansfield's regiment. (*Amer. Arch.*, 4th ser., vol. ii. p. 1481.)

Dr. William Eustis was born at Cambridge, July 10, 1753, subsequently

few of the physicians named served in this engagement as

Governor of Massachusetts, died in Boston, Feb. 6, 1825, aged 71. After graduating at Harvard (1772) he studied physic with Dr. Joseph Warren; at the beginning of the war he was appointed surgeon of a regiment, and afterwards hospital surgeon in 1777. During a part of the war he occupied as a hospital the spacious house of Col. Robinson, a Royalist, on the east side of the Hudson, opposite West Point. Arnold for a time had his headquarters at the same house. At the termination of the war he commenced the practice of his profession in Boston. In 1808 he was elected to Congress. By Mr. Madison, he was appointed Secretary of War, and held that office until Hull's surrender, when he resigned. In 1815 he was sent as ambassador to Holland. After his return he was again a member of Congress for four successive sessions. He was chosen governor in 1823. (*Allen's Biog.*, pp. 343–344. *Frothingham's Siege of Boston*, p. 94.)

Dr. Isaac Foster was a member of the Prov. Congress of Mass., and is mentioned as being among the number of citizens from Middlesex who petitioned Congress to begin the war of the Revolution. He was a native of Charlestown; was attached to the hospital at Cambridge. He and Lieut. Col. Hand, M.D., the latter at the time a surgeon in the 18th regiment, were competitors of Dr. John Morgan for the position of Director-General of the army, made vacant by the downfall of Dr. Church. Dr. F. was appointed by Congress, April 19, 1777, to be deputy Director-General of the hospital in the eastern department. (*Amer. Arch.*, 4th ser., vol. i. p. 750, *Brown's Med. Dept. of U. S. A.*, p. 10. *Frothingham's Siege of Boston. Journ. of Cong.*, vol. ii. p. 87.)

Dr. Harris Clary Fridges was commissioned by the Massachusetts Prov. Cong. surgeon's mate, in Col. John Mansfield's regiment, July 5, 1775. (*Amer. Arch.*, 4th ser., vol. ii. p. 1481.)

Dr. Ezra Green, born in Malden, Mass., graduated at Harvard in 1775, died in Dover, N. H., July 25, 1847, aged 101 years and one month. He joined the army of the Revolution as surgeon to James Green's regiment. Was also a surgeon in the "*Ranger*," commanded by Paul Jones, continuing in the navy until 1781. He was afterwards a merchant in Dover, and a member of the convention for adopting the Constitution of the U. S. After passing the age of 80, he assisted in forming a Unitarian Society. Up to his death he was in full possession of his faculties. (*Allen's Biog.*, *Frothingham's Siege of Boston*, pp. 175 and 187.)

Dr. John Hart was born at Ipswich, in 1752, was the son of John Hart, a lawyer and also a noted physician. He joined Prescott's regiment at the beginning of the war, and served until its close, was a surgeon of the 2d Mass. Regiment. He settled at Reading in 1782. He was for years in the Senate, and was an estimable, venerable man, a true patriot, and a good Christian. When chosen to public office, instead of making a treat as was the custom, he gave money to the amount usually expended on such occa-

commanding officers, and a few as minute men in the ranks.

sions to buy books for schools. He died at Reading, April 27, 1826, aged 84. (*Frothingham's Siege of Boston*, p. 194. *Allen's Biography*, pp. 317–318.)

Dr. Walter Hastings was commissioned by the Mass. Prov. Cong., July 5, 1775, as a surgeon, and probably served until the close of the war. He was a surgeon in Col. Bridge's regiment, and became entitled to half pay for his services. (*Amer. Arch.*, 4th series, vol. iv. p. 646. *Records of Rev. War*, p. 422. *Frothingham's Siege of Boston*, p. 175–187.)

Dr. Martin Herrick was born and resided in Reading, Mass. He entered the service early, as he was at the battle of Bunker Hill as a soldier. His first appointment as mate was probably March, 1776, in the Mass. 7th Regt., Col. Daniel Hitchcock, with whom he continued until the end of the year. He was again in the service from Aug. to Dec. 18, 1777. In 1778 he was appointed surgeon to the armed vessel "Tyrannicide" in 1781; he was captured and taken to Halifax where he was detained three months, at the end of which time he was released. While in the army he was at one time assistant to Dr. Brooks; he was present at the battles and retreat at Long Island, Brandywine, and Germantown. He was married at Reading, March 25, 1789, to Sarah Wright, who died in Portland, Me., July 23, 1843, æt. 80. He died at Reading, July 25, 1820, æt. 74. (MS. in Dr. Toner's Library.)

Dr. Isaac Hurd was born in Charleston, Mass., July 27, 1756. He studied medicine with Dr. Oliver Prescott, a very skilful and eminent physician, and at that time a member of the Executive Council of Mass. In June, 1777, having completed his studies, he was informed by Dr. Prescott that he had been appointed surgeon in the Mass. militia. He repaired to Boston on the first Monday in July, where he met Col. Robinson and other officers of the regiment. They soon departed for Providence, R. I., and reported to Gen. Spencer, he was ordered to report to the Surgeon of the General Hospital in that place, and from thence he was sent to Quidnessett Point, thence to Point Judith, where some British vessels were wrecked on the beach. After attending to the sick and injured prisoners, he returned to Quidnessett Point. He was present at the Battle of Bunker Hill. At the end of six months he retired from the service, and located in Billerica, from thence he removed to and continued to reside in Concord in the practice of his profession. He was alive in 1843, æt. 87. (MS. in Dr. Toner's Library.)

Dr. David Jones died at North Yarmouth, Mass., March 27, 1822. At the battle of Bunker Hill he was surgeon in Col. Gerrick's regiment, and rendered services in the hospital department under Joseph Warren after the battle of Lexington. Was appointed surgeon in the Mass. 26th regiment, Jan. 1, 1776, and reappointed at the end of nine months to continue twelve months longer. A portion of the time in and around New York City. At the date of his marriage, June 17, 1778, to Eliz. Hobart, both were living in Abingdon, Mass., but removed to North Yarmouth. From about 1822

The physicians who were in this memorable battle are all

he was afflicted with rheumatism so as to require the use of crutches, and two or three years preceding his decease he was unable to move himself. His widow died at North Yarmouth, July 6, 1843, aged 82. He was placed upon the pension rolls, Dec. 21, 1819, while residing in Cumberland County, Maine, and was dropped under Act of May 1, 1820. (*U. S. Pension Rolls*, vol. i. p. 23. *Maine Regt., Frothingham's Siege of Boston*, p. 178. MS. in Dr. Toner's Library.)

Dr. Thomas Kittredge, M.S.S., was born at Andover, July, 1746, received his education at Dummer Academy, in Byfield, and studied his profession with Dr. Sawyer, a distinguished physician, at Newburyport. He was an eminent practitioner, and extensively employed throughout the State of Massachusetts. He was surgeon in Col. Frye's regiment. (Commissioned May 20, 1775.) During life the doctor filled many municipal and other offices of trust; he was often member of the Legislature, and was there useful to the medical society, by exerting his extensive influence in its favor. His practice as a physician was very large, but he was most distinguished as a surgeon. He was remarkable for his powers of diagnosis. He died of angina pectoris, Oct. 1818. (*Thacher's Biog.*, p. 347. *Frothingham's Siege of Boston*, p. 175–187.)

Dr. Aaron Putnam was commissioned by the Mass. Prov. Cong., July 5, 1775, as a surgeon's mate in Col. James Frye's regiment. The returns for Jan. 1, 1776, show that he was a surgeon's mate of Col. L. Baldwin's 26th regt. of foot. (*Amer. Arch.*, 4th series, vol. ii. p. 1481, and vol. iv. p. 646.)

Dr. David Shepard was at the "Lexington alarm," April 19, 1775. He was called from Chester, Mass., as captain of a company, and went to Boston April 28, 1775, was appointed surgeon in Col. Danielson's regiment, and was in the battle of Bunker Hill. He remained in this regiment until Dec. 31, 1775. In 1777, at the time of Burgoyne's invasion, he went to Bennington, Vt., under Lieut. Col. Robinson in the 3d regt., and was in the battle at that place. He was the son of John and Elizabeth Shepard, of Westfield, Mass. He married, Dec. 3, 1767, Margaret, daughter of Ezra Clapp, of that town. (MS. in Toner Library.)

Dr. Isaac Spofford was commissioned, July 5, 1775, by the Mass. Prov. Cong., as a surgeon in Col. Nixon's regiment, and was in this capacity present at Bunker Hill. (*Amer. Arch.*, 4th series, vol. ii., 1481.)

Dr. Samuel Tenney was surgeon in Col. Israel Angell's regiment, Rhode Island Continental Troops, in 1779. (*Rec. of War*, p. 154.) He was born at Byfield, Mass., received a collegiate education at Harvard, and studied medicine. He served during the whole war, and at the close retired from his profession and settled at Exeter, N. H. For many years he was Judge of Probate, and in 1800 was elected to Congress. He died in 1816. (MS. in Toner Library.)

Dr. Samuel Tenney is mentioned amongst others who petitioned Gen. Washington in regard to certain grievances, also as having given evidence

worthy of being mentioned. Their names are given here in alphabetical order.

Adams, Elijah	Foster, Isaac	Spofford, Isaac
Bacon, Jacob	Fridges, Harris Clary	Tenney, Samuel
Blanchard, Samuel	Green, Ezra	Townsend, David
Brickett, James	Hart, John	Vinal, William
Brooks, Jno.	Hastings, Walter	Warren, John
Crooker, Jno.	Herrick, Martin	Warren, Joseph
Dexter, William	Hurd, Isaac	Watson, Abraham
Downer, Eliphalet	Jones, David	Welsh, Thomas
Durant, Edward	Kittredge, Thomas	Williams, Obediah
Eustis, William	Putnam, Aaron	Willard, Levi.
	Shepard, David	

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before a court of inquiry into the conduct of Captain E. Hamlen. Samuel Tenney was paid £6 7*s.* 6*d.* on settling the accounts of his State's Continental Battalion (Dec. 1783). (*Amer. Arch.*, 5th ser., vol. i. p. 695, and vol. iii. p. 1494. *R. I.'s Col. Rec.* 1780–83, p. 734 and p. 746.)

Dr. David Townsend was a respectable physician of Boston, a member of the Mass. Medical Society. He was for many years and up to the time of his death physician-in-charge of the Marine Hospital of Mass. He died in April 13, 1829, aged 76. He published a 4th of July oration 1810; address to charitable fire society. (*Allen's Biography*, and *Frothingham's Siege of Boston*, p. 194.)

Dr. William Vinal was commissioned July 5, 1775, by the Mass. Prov. Congress, as surgeon's mate in Col. Gardner's regiment; in this capacity he was present at Bunker's Hill. He is also mentioned at a subsequent note as surgeon's mate in the 25th regiment of foot. (*Amer. Arch.*, 4th ser., vol. ii., p. 148, and vol. iv., 646.)

Dr. John Warren was born in Roxbury, Mass., July 27, 1753, and graduated at Harvard University in 1771. His ancestors came to Boston in 1720. He studied medicine with his brother Gen. Joseph Warren, and located in Salem, where he commanded a good practice. On the day of the battle of Bunker's Hill, his anxiety in regard to his brother prompted him to the field of battle, and in attempting to pass a sentry, he received a bayonet wound, the scar of which he bore through life. He was in attendance on the wounded after that battle, and was immediately appointed hospital surgeon. He accompanied the army to N. Y. and N. J. in 1776, and administered to the wounded at Trenton and Princeton, remained in the service till the close of the war, and was superintending surgeon of the military hospitals in Boston. In 1780 he gave a course of anatomical lectures and dissections to his students and the physicians of his acquaintance, and became Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in the newly established Medical School at Cambridge in 1783, organized through his influence. He was President of the Mass. Medical Society from 1804 and till his death,

Gen. Joseph Warren, the most eminent of the list, was killed, and Lieut. Col. James Brickett wounded. Dr. Benj. Church would no doubt have participated in the engagement, but he was absent, having been sent in May by the Prov. Congress of Massachusetts, of which he was a member, as a confidential agent to Philadelphia, to consult the Continental Congress, convened in that city, relative to such matters as

and was also President of the Agric. and Humane Societies. He was for nearly forty years one of the most eminent surgeons in New England. An instance of the energy of his character is manifested by his preparing a course of lectures on anatomy with but few books, without an instructor, and without a model. He delivered several public addresses, and in 1783 began the series of 4th of July orations at Boston, ever since continued. In 1777 he married the daughter of Gov. Collins, of R. I. He died in Boston, April 4th, 1815. He published "A Dissertation on the Mercurial Practice in Febrile Diseases;" an address to the lodges of Free Masons, of which he was Grand Master; and contributed many articles to the Journal of Medicine and Surgery, the "memoirs" of the Amer. Acad., and the communications of the Mass. Med. Society. (*Dr. Edward Warren's Life of John Warren.*)

Dr. Joseph Warren. This eminent physician was naturally a leader, and in the front rank of all movements for opposing British aggression, and defending the rights of the colonies. His biography has so often been written, that it is familiar to every house in the land. He was born at Roxbury, near Boston. Graduated at Harvard in 1759. Selecting medicine as his profession, he soon rose to eminence. Love of country was a predominant trait in his character, possessing also many of the qualities of the statesman and leader. He was twice selected as orator to commemorate the Boston Massacre. He was a member of the Prov. Congress of Massachusetts, and the Council of Safety. His timely information prevented the capture of the Colonial supplies at Concord and Lexington. In the council of war he opposed, on account of the want of supplies, the fortifying of Bunker's Hill, which led to the battle in which he was killed, aged 35. No name, except that of Washington, is more cherished or will longer be retained in the hearts of the American people than that of Dr. Warren.

Dr. Abraham Watson was commissioned July 5, 1775, by the Prov. Congress as surgeon in Col. Gardner's regiment. (*Amer. Arch.*, 4th ser., vol. ii. p. 481.)

Dr. Thomas Welsh was one of the physicians in attendance on the wounded after the battle of Bunker's Hill. (*Frothingham's Siege of Boston*, p. 194.)

Dr. Obediah Williams rendered professional aid to the wounded in this battle as surgeon in Col. John Stark's regiment. (*Toner's Annals*, p. 93.)

Dr. Levi Willard was commissioned July 5th, 1775, by the Mass. Prov. Cong., as surgeon of Col. Reed's regiment. (*Amer. Arch.*, 4th ser., vol. ii. p. 1481.)

were necessary for the defence of the colony, and particularly the state of the army.

On the 7th July, Dr. Isaac Foster was commissioned surgeon of the hospital at Cambridge, and Dr. Isaac Rand as surgeon at the hospital at Roxbury. (*Journ. Prov. Cong. of Mass.*, p. 464.)

The habit of naming military hospitals after popular generals obtained then as during the late war.[1]

Misunderstandings about rank among the officers early showed themselves in different parts of the army, chiefly on account of the want of system or precision in the regulations.[2] This was particularly true of the medical department, where they soon grew to be a source of much discontent, and even recrimination. For some reason the rank of hospital surgeon was at first esteemed higher than that of regimental surgeon, which order the latter desired to reverse. (See Letter of Dr. John Warren to Dr. John Morgan, *Life of John Warren, M.D.*, p. 98.) The Committee of Safety of the Colony of Massachusetts, it seems, made military appointments as well as the Prov. Congress, as this body commis-

[1] John Warren, in a letter bearing the date of Oct. 1775, to John Hancock, says: "There are four houses here appropriated to the purpose of receiving the sick and wounded in Cambridge, by the names of the Washington, Putnam, Lee, and Convalescent Hospitals, all of which contain at present about 350 patients, being all of the sick of the army in Cambridge, excepting such as are slightly, as to be attended with convenience in camp. The number is rather upon the decrease, and but a small number have hitherto died. Three houses are improved for the same purpose at Roxbury; the number of sick and wounded I cannot ascertain." (*Edward Warren's Life of John Warren, M.D.*, p. 56.)

[2] Dr. John Warren wrote in October to the Hon. John Hancock, President of Congress, chiefly upon matters relating to the medical department of the army, and says: "We cannot obtain information whether the appointments are to receive the sanction of Congress, or whether the Director was invested with the discretionary power to make them, without a necessity of their being ratified by any other authority. The only person here from whom we could expect an answer to our queries is secluded from the whole world, and no person is admitted to an interview with him"—[alluding, no doubt, to Dr. Church]. (*Edward Warren's Life of Dr. John Warren*, p. 56.)

sioned Dr. John Warren, July 27, 1775, chief surgeon to the hospital at Watertown [1]

Experience had already demonstrated the need of a surgeon-in-chief, as a general head to the medical department. The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts had already discussed the matter, and was about to elect one for the troops of the colony of Mass., when General Washington arrived at Boston, on the 2d of July, 1775, to whom, with great delicacy, they referred the whole subject. The General, on taking command, July 3d, made an inspection of the fortifications and camps, and shortly after of the hospitals. The condition of the latter he made the subject of a special letter to the Congress.[2]

Although Congress had on the 15th June, 1775, accepted

[1] July 27, The Committee of Safety, Watertown. "Whereas this Committee find the public hospital in this town has been much neglected, to the great injury of the patients in said hospital, occasioned by the want of some suitable persons being placed there as surgeons, therefore *Resolved*, That Dr. John Warren be and hereby is appointed to the oversight of said hospital, and that he take proper care of such provisions being made as may be necessary for the comfortable support of the patients in said hospital, until further orders." (*Journ. Prov. Cong. Mass.*, p. 578.)

April 29, 1775, *Voted*, "That Dr. Isaac Foster be directed and empowered to remove all the sick and wounded, whose circumstances will permit of it, into the hospital, and to supply proper beds and bedding, clothing, victuals, and furniture, with every other article he shall judge proper for said hospital, and that this be a sufficient order for him to draw on the commissary for such articles as he can supply, and to draw upon the commissary for the payment of whatever expenses are necessary for procuring the above-mentioned articles." (*Journ. of Prov. Cong. Mass.*, p. 527.)

[2] "I have made inquiry into the establishment of the hospital, and find it in a very unsettled condition. There is no principal director, or any subordination among the surgeons; of consequence, disputes and contention have arisen, and must continue until it is reduced to some system. I could wish it were immediately taken into consideration, as the lives and health of both officers and men so much depend upon due regulation of this department. I have been particularly attentive to the least symptoms of the smallpox; and hitherto we have been so fortunate as to have every person removed so soon as not only to prevent any communication, but any alarm or apprehension it might give in the camp. We shall continue the utmost vigilance against this most dangerous enemy."

(Washington, from Camp Cambridge, July 21, 1775. *Amer. Arch.*, 4th ser., vol. ii. p. 1706.)

the Colonial armies then in the field as continental, and chose a general-in-chief to command all the forces raised or to be raised, and provided for the appointment of generals and staff-officers, yet no provision was made for the hospital department. The first legislation by Congress touching the "Medical Department," then denominated "hospital" service, was had on the 19th of July, 1775, which created a committee of three to report on a method of establishing an hospital.[1]

On the 27th July a report was made to the Continental Congress on the subject, which was adopted; this act gave authority and some system to the management of the medical department. It was designed for an army of only 20,000, but, as experience proved, the law was not well digested, nor adapted in all its provisions for the best interests of a volunteer force.[2] Although this act gave titles, it bestowed no military rank.

[1] Mr. Lewis of New York, Mr. Paine of Massachusetts, and Mr. Middleton of South Carolina, were the committee. (*Journ. of Cong.*, July 19, 1775.)

[2] Journal of Congress, July 27, 1775. Report of committee for establishing a hospital for the army. "That for the establishment of an hospital for an army consisting of 20,000 men, the following officers and other attendants be appointed, with the following allowance or pay, viz.: One director-general and chief physician, his pay, per day, four dollars. Four surgeons, each ditto, one and one-third of a dollar. One apothecary, ditto, one and one-third of a dollar. Twenty surgeons' mates, each ditto, two-thirds of a dollar. One clerk, ditto, two-thirds of a dollar. Two storekeepers, each four dollars per month. One nurse to every ten sick, one-fifteenth of a dollar per day, or two dollars per month. Labors occasionally.

"The duty of the above officers: The director to furnish medicines, bedding, and all other necessaries, to pay for the same, superintend the whole, and make his report to, and receive orders from the commander-in-chief.

"Surgeons, apothecary, and mates to visit and attend the sick, and mates to obey the orders of the physicians, surgeons, and apothecary. Matron to superintend the nurses and bedding, etc. Nurses to attend the sick, and obey the matron's orders. Clerk to keep accounts for the director and storekeepers. Storekeeper to receive and deliver the bedding and other necessaries by order of the director. The congress then proceeded to the election of officers for the hospital, when Benj. Church was unanimously elected to be director thereof and physician in the hospital. *Resolved*: That the appointment of the four surgeons and the apothecary be left to Dr. B. Church. That the mates be appointed by the surgeons; that the number of

The same day, "Dr. Benjamin Church was unanimously elected director of and physician in the hospital." This appointment gave a head to the department, which hitherto had no unity of action or continental authority. Dr. Joseph Warren could have had the position, but, as it was understood that he preferred the more arduous duties of the field, the commission of major-general in the army was given to him. Dr. Church was a man of education, fine address, and skill in his profession. From an early stage of the movements which led the colonists to independence, he was an ardent and able patriot. His name should be mentioned as, perhaps, fourth in point of influence among the leading men of Massachusetts, and would have been held in high esteem by his compatriots and by succeeding ages but for his own indiscretion. His administration of the medical department during the few months that he held the position was not, however, marked by harmonious or successful management. Misunderstandings with the regimental surgeons led to frequent complaints rather than to improvement of the medical department of the service.[1] To a complete un-

mates do not exceed twenty. That the number be not kept in constant pay unless the sick and wounded should be so numerous as to require the attendance of twenty, and to be diminished as circumstances will admit; for which purpose the pay is fixed by the day that they may only receive pay for actual service. That one clerk, two storekeepers, and one nurse to every ten sick be appointed by the director."

[1] "Head-Quarters, Cambridge, Sept. 7, 1775. (Parole, Cambridge.) (Countersign, Dorchester.) Repeated complaints being made by the Regimental Surgeons, that they are not allowed proper necessaries for the use of the sick, before they become fit objects for the General Hospital, and the Director General of the Hospital complains that, contrary to the rule of every established Army, these Regimental Hospitals are more expensive than can be conceived, which plainly indicates that there is either an unpardonable abuse on one side, or an inexcusable neglect on the other. And whereas the General is exceedingly desirous of having the utmost care taken of the sick (wherever placed, and in every stage of their disorder), but at the same time is determined not to suffer any impositions upon the publick, he requires and orders that the Brigadier-Generals, with the Commanding Officers of each Regiment in his Brigade, do sit as a Court of Inquiry into the causes of these complaints; and that they summon the Director General of the Hospital, and their several Regimental Surgeons, before them, and have the

derstanding of the Doctor's position, it should be borne in mind that he had rivals among the medical men then in the

whole matter fully investigated and reported. This inquiry to begin on the left of the line to-morrow, at the hour of ten, in General Sullivan's Brigade.

"When a soldier is so sick that it is no longer safe or proper for him to remain in camp, he should be sent to the General Hospital. There is no need of Regimental Hospitals without the camp, when there is a General Hospital so near, and so well appointed." (*American Archives*, 4th series, vol. iii. p. 667.)

"Headquarters, Cambridge, Sept. 14, 1775. (Parole, Roxborough.) (Countersign, Salem.) In obedience to the general order of the 7th inst., the inquiry into the conduct of Dr. Church, the Director-General of the hospital, and the respective regimental surgeons, has been held in Gen. Sullivan's brigade; that being finished, the General orders the like to be held forthwith in Gen. Greene's brigade." (*Amer. Arch.*, 4th series, vol. iii. p. 769.)

"Headquarters, Cambridge, Sept. 28, 1775. (Parole, Bedford.) (Countersign, Chatham.) The inquiry into the conduct of Dr. Church, Director-General of the hospital, and the respective regimental surgeons, being finished in the four brigades in and near Cambridge, conformable to the general orders of the 7th inst., the same is to take place to-morrow in Brig.-Gen. Thomas's brigade, and in Brig.-Gen. Spencer's brigade on Saturday." (*Amer. Arch.*, 4th series, vol. iii. p. 857.)

"Headquarters, Cambridge, Sept. 30, 1775. (Parole, Fairfax.) (Countersign, Goshen.) A court of inquiry, ordered to sit in Brig.-Gen. Spencer's brigade, in relation to the dispute between the director-general of the hospital and the regimental surgeons, is, on account of the indisposition of Dr. Church, to be postponed until further orders." (*Amer. Arch.*, 4th series, vol. iii. p. 857.)

Gen. Washington, Oct. 5, 1775, in an official letter to the Continental Congress, writes: "I have now a painful, though a necessary duty to perform, respecting Dr. Church, Director General of the hospital. About a week ago Mr. Secretary Ward, of Providence, sent up to me one Wainwood, an inhabitant of Newport, with a letter directed to Major Cane in Boston in (occult) characters, which he said had been left with Wainwood some time ago, by a woman who was kept by Dr. Church. She had before pressed Wainwood to take her to Captain Wallace, Mr. Dudley the collector, or George Rome, which he declined. She then gave him a letter with a strict charge to deliver it to either of those gentlemen. He, suspecting some improper correspondence, kept the letter, and some time after opened it; but not being able to read it, laid it up, where it remained until he received an obscure letter from the woman, expressing an anxiety after the original letter. He then communicated the whole matter to Mr. Ward, who sent him up with the papers to me. I immediately secured the woman, but for a long time she was proof against every threat and persuasion to discover

service for his position. That he suspected them for fomenting discontent is evident from his letter to General Sullivan of Sept. 14, 1775. (See *Amer. Arch.*, 4th series, vol. iii. p. 712.)

Able, accomplished, and beloved as Dr. Church was by the leading patriots and the whole community, the weakness of human nature was painfully exemplified in him by his attempt to correspond secretly, by means of cypher, with parties within the enemy's lines, which being detected, he was arrested, tried by court-martial, of which Gen. Washington was president, Oct. 3, 1775, and found guilty of "holding criminal correspondence with the enemy." The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, of which he was a member, by a unanimous vote, expelled him from their body Nov. 4, 1775. A record of his trial and his answers may be seen in the *American Archives*, 4th series, vol. iii. p. 958.

On the 17th October, 1775, Congress elected Dr. John Morgan Director General and Chief Physician in the Hospital, in the place of Dr. Church. Dr. Morgan's competitors

the author. However, at length she was brought to a confession, and named Dr. Church. I then immediately secured him and all his papers. Upon his first examination, he readily acknowledged the letter; said it was designed for his brother Fleming, and, when deciphered, would be found to contain nothing criminal. He acknowledged his never having communicated the correspondence to any person here but the girl; and made many protestations of the purity of his intentions. Having found a person capable of deciphering the letter, I, in the mean time, had all his papers searched, but found nothing criminal among them. But it appeared on inquiry that a confidant had been among the papers before my messenger arrived. I then called the general officers together for their advice—the result of which you will find enclosed. The deciphered letter is also enclosed. The army and country are exceedingly irritated; and, upon a free discussion of the nature, circumstances, and consequence of this matter, it has been unanimously agreed to lay it before the honorable Congress for their special advice and direction; at the same time suggesting to their consideration, whether an alteration of the twenty-eighth article of war may not be necessary."*

* By the twenty-eighth article of war, whoever was convicted of holding correspondence with the enemy, or of giving intelligence, was to suffer such punishment as should be ordered by a general court-martial. There was no provision for referring such cases to Congress or other civil authorities. (*Sparks's Life and Writings of Washington*, vol. iii. pp. 116 and 117.)

for the position were Dr. Isaac Foster, surgeon of the Hospital in Cambridge, and Lieut. Col. Hand, a resident of Pa., and at the time a surgeon in the army. Dr. John Morgan was a native of Pa., and had received his academic degree from the College of Philadelphia, and his doctorate from the University of Edinburgh.

The success which had attended the medical department of the College of Philadelphia under his guidance was of itself a first-class endorsement. His ability as a surgeon, his character as a man, his patriotism, and his influence as a citizen were well known to the public. Therefore no more fitting appointment of chief medical officer could have been made. Immediately after his commission was issued, he reported for duty to Gen. Washington at Cambridge. On his arrival, he found the hospitals crowded with sick, many of whom ought to have been treated in the camp, tents, or the barracks of the regiments.[1] Reform in hospital management was at once commenced, which received the earnest sympathy and support of Gen. Washington. Dr. Morgan's displacement by Congress early in 1777, was from nearly all quarters pronounced a hasty and an undeserved censure upon his administration of the medical department. The difficulties complained of arose from defects in legislation, and other causes beyond the control of the medical officer. Dr. Morgan on entering upon his duties understood that he was expected to make the necessary medical appointments in the hospital department. This authority was also given to a limited extent to the surgeon in charge of the Northern Department, and to the surgeon of the Southern Hospital in Virginia. The same view, it would seem, was at first held by Congress, which on several occasions referred surgeons to him for appointment. The practice, however, excited jealousies, and had finally to be discontinued, and all appointments thenceforth came from Congress.

[1] "The principal diseases were autumnal remittents, typhoid fever, and camp dysentery, and, in consequence of the universal practise of inoculating for the smallpox, a considerable amount of that disease. He set to work to introduce more systematic arrangements in the management of the hospitals;

The separate command under Gen'l Schuyler operating in Canada was at this time suffering for want of surgeons' medical supplies, and particularly from inefficient medical management.[1]

Dr. Samuel Stringer, of Albany, was first employed by General Schuyler, Aug. 27, 1775, and commissioned by Congress Sept. 14, 1775, Director of the Hospital and Physician for the Northern Department of the Army, and with the authority to appoint a number of surgeons' mates, not to exceed four.

The doctor was a native of Maryland, had studied medicine in Philadelphia, and had served as a surgeon in the British Army in America, and was therefore presumed to be familiar with the duties and requirements of a medical director. On the 25th of October, 1775, he wrote from Fort George to Congress, pointing out the necessities of the service in his department, and asked for an additional number of surgeons and surgeons' mates. (*Amer. Arch.*, 4th series, vol. iii. p. 1523.)

A misunderstanding of the powers and duties of the medical director soon arose between Drs. Morgan and Stringer, so that Congress, Aug. 20, 1776, passed the following among other resolutions. That "Dr. Morgan was appointed Director

the wards were cleaned out, and men sent back to their regiments, the number of surgeons' mates in hospital reduced, and the surplus officers transferred to vacancies in the regiments, and he subjected the medical officers to another examination and caused those who were disqualified to be discharged." (*Brown's Med. Dept. of the U. S. Army*, p. 11–12.)

[1] Gen. Schuyler, writing to the Continental Congress under date of Aug. 6, 1775, says: "Out of about five hundred men that are here, near a hundred are sick, and I have not any kind of hospital stores, although I had not forgot to order them, immediately after my appointment. The little wine I had for my own table I have delivered to the regimental surgeons. That being expended, I can no longer bear the distress of the sick, and, impelled by the feelings of humanity, I shall take the liberty immediately to order a physician from Albany (if one can be got there. as I believe there may) to join me, with such stores as are indispensably necessary. If Congress should approve of this measure, they will please signify what allowance of pay will be made. If not, I shall discharge the person, whoever he be, paying him for the services he may have performed." (*Amer. Arch.*, 4th series, vol. iii. p. 48.)

General and Physician-in-Chief of the American Hospital. That Dr. Stringer was appointed Director and Physician of the Hospital in the Northern Department only."[1]

During the winter the continental army was increased and put in the best possible condition, and the fortifications around Boston were strengthened. The opinion prevailed that General Gage would attack the colonial troops and attempt to send a force into the interior. Congress, too, was active in inaugurating measures for raising means and organizing troops.

The command in Canada at this time seemed very sanguine of success and of having the people there unite with the other colonies. The failure of this scheme has always seemed to me to have resulted from bad management rather than from any disinclination or want of sympathy on the part of the Canadians with the struggle for colonial independence.

General Washington had so fortified his position during the winter, that the British could no longer hold Boston; they therefore evacuated it on Sunday the 17th of March, 1776.[2]

[1] Journal of Congress. August 20, 1776. "That every director of a hospital possesses the exclusive right of appointing surgeons and hospital officers of all kinds, agreeable to the resolutions of Congress of the 17th of July, in his own department unless otherwise directed by Congress. That Dr. Stringer be authorized to appoint a surgeon for the fleet now fitting out upon the lakes. That a druggist be appointed in Philadelphia, whose business it shall be, to receive and deliver all medicines, instruments, and shop furniture for the benefit of the United States. That a salary of thirty dollars a month be paid to said druggist for his labor.

"Congress proceeded to the election of a druggist, and, the ballot being taken, Dr. Wm. Smith was elected."

[2] On the announcement of this result General Washington received congratulatory and flattering addresses from the selectmen of Boston, the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, and from Congress, which body ordered a medal to be struck for him. Letters of thanks from all the colonial assemblies were sent to him.

From Sparks's Washington, vol. iii. p. 493, we learn the strength of the army under General Washington during the siege of Boston; on the 9th of March, total strength 18,410, sick though present 2445, sick but absent 330.

The theatre of active operations for the remainder of the war now moved southward.

Armies had been collecting in the vicinity of New York. Here the newly enlisted recruits of the colonies had gone into camp to be drilled in the service. The British had other forces than those massing at the mouth of the Hudson operating still further to the south, with a view to distract colonial sentiment and to conceal from the Americans the real point of intended attack. Norfolk, Va., having been burned by them on the 1st of January, 1776, a strong naval force also attacked Charleston, S. C., on the 28th of June, 1776, but was gallantly repulsed.

The Declaration of Independence, the crowning political event of the age, had the effect of consolidating public sentiment and creating a permanent national policy in America.

The difficulty of transportation and of providing supplies for an army at that period can scarcely be appreciated by the present generation, accustomed as we are to bridged streams, good roads, to steamboats and railroads.

Dr. Morgan received a special order on the 3d of April, 1776, for the removal of the hospital to New York. The minute details of this order show the great humanity and thoughtfulness of General Washington,[1] who expresses his full confidence in the zeal and ability of Dr. Morgan.

[1] "As the grand Continental army immediately under the command of His Excellency General Washington will, as soon as it is practicable, be assembled at New York, you are, with all convenient speed, to remove the general hospital to that city. As the sick in the different houses cannot be removed, but must be attended until they are able to march, you will leave such surgeons, surgeons' mates, apothecary, and attendants under the direction of ———* as are necessary for the care of the sick now in the general hospital. The medicines, stores, bedding, etc., not immediately wanted in the general hospital, should be loaded in carts that will be provided next Saturday by the Asst. Quartermaster-General, and sent under the care of a proper officer or officers of the hospital, to Norwich in Connecticut. Upon their arrival there, they will find His Excellency's orders, and how and in what manner to proceed from thence, whether by land or water.

"The medicines ordered upon His Excellency's application by the honorable the general court of this province to be taken out of the town of

* Blank to be filled by a surgeon selected by Dr. Morgan.

Dr. Morgan discharged this duty with promptness and fidelity, and reports to General Washington in a letter written from Cambridge April 22, 1776. (See *Archives*, 4th series, vol. v. p. 1024.)

The hospitals provided at New York, as well as the regulations for their management, were an improvement on those hitherto established. Experience was beginning to yield fruits. The surgeons and mates were becoming more familiar with the duties, and a rivalry for promotion began to develop itself. But the jealousy of the regimental surgeons and hospital surgeons was growing more pronounced.

The law relating to hospitals, passed by Congress July 17, 1776, it had been hoped would have promoted efficiency, allayed prejudices, and inspired confidence.[1]

Boston should be sent with the first of the hospital stores that go to Norwich, a careful person having orders to take charge of the same.

"The fixing and completing the regimental medicine chests, according to your plan lately proposed, had better be deferred until your arrival at New York, when that may be set about under your inspection.

"As the removing the general hospital must be attended with such a variety of duty and attention, I must refrain from giving more particular directions, leaving a latitude to your experience and knowledge in your profession to govern and direct all your motions.

"Before you leave Cambridge it will be necessary to see a proper regimental medicine chest provided and delivered to each of the surgeons of the four regiments left in garrison there under the immediate command of Major-General Ward; also a chest for Colonel Glover's regiment, on command at Beverly.

"Reposing entire confidence in your care, diligence, and zeal for the service, I remain satisfied of your best exertions for the public benefit.

"Given at Cambridge Headquarters, 3d day of April, 1776. George Washington to Dr. John Morgan." (*Amer. Arch.*, vol. v., 4th series, p. 783.)

[1] Wednesday, July 17, 1776, Congress took into consideration the report of the Committee on the memorial of the director-general of the American hospital, whereupon—

Resolved, That the number of hospital surgeons and mates be increased, in proportion to the augmentation of the army, not exceeding one surgeon and five mates to every five thousand men, to be reduced, when the army is reduced, or when there is no further occasion for such a number.

That as many persons be employed in the several hospitals, in quality of storekeepers, stewards, managers, and nurses, as are necessary for the service, for the time being, to be appointed by the director of the respective hospitals.

That the several regimental chests of medicine and chirurgical instru-

The battle of Long Island was fought on the 27th Aug. 1776, which resulted in the loss to the Americans of nearly 1000 men, and compelled Gen. Washington to retire from the city of New York.

ments which now are, or hereafter shall be, in the possession of the regimental surgeons, be subject to the inspection and inquiry of the respective directors of hospitals, and the director-general, and that the said regimental surgeons shall, from time to time, when thereto required, render account of the said medicines and instruments to the said director, or, if there be no director in any particular department, to the director-general; the said accounts to be transmitted to the director-general, and by him to this Congress; and the medicines and instruments not used by any regimental surgeon to be returned, when the regiment is reduced, to the respective directors, and an account thereof by them rendered to the director-general, and by him to this Congress. That the several directors of hospitals, in the several departments, and the regimental surgeons, where there is no director, shall transmit to the director-general regular returns of the number of surgeons' mates and other officers employed under them, their names and pay; also an account of the expenses and furniture of the hospital under their direction; and that the director-general make a report of the same from time to time, to the commander-in-chief, and this Congress. That the several regimental and hospital surgeons in the several departments make weekly returns of the sick to the respective directors in their departments. That no regimental surgeon be allowed to draw upon the hospital of his department for any stores except medicines and instruments; and that when any sick person shall require other stores, they shall be received into said hospital and the rations of the said sick persons be stopped, so long as they are in the said hospital; and that the directors of several hospitals report to the commissary the names of the sick, when received into and when discharged from the hospital, and make a like return to the board of treasury. That all extra expenses for bandages, old linen, and other articles necessary for the service, incurred by any regimental surgeon, be paid by the director of that department, with the approbation of the commander thereof. That no more medicines belonging to the continent be disposed of till further order of Congress.

That the pay of the hospital surgeons be increased to one dollar and two-thirds of a dollar by the day; the pay of the hospital mates to one dollar by the day, and the pay of hospital apothecary to one dollar and two-thirds of a dollar by the day, and that the hospital surgeons and mates take rank of regimental surgeons and mates.

That the director-general and the several directors of hospitals be empowered to purchase, with the approbation of the commanders of the respective departments, medicines and instruments for the use of their respective hospital, and draw upon the paymaster for the same, and make report of such purchases to Congress. (*Journal of Congress*, July 17, 1776.)

Gen. Charles Lee, in a letter to Congress from New York, dated Feb. 9th, 1776, suggests that, in consequence of the augmentation of troops there, a hospital be established at that place without loss of time. The evacuation of Boston by the British took place on the 14th of March, 1776. The armies at once commenced massing around New York, when, as a matter of course, hospitals were provided, and the demand upon them was constantly on the increase. The necessity for barrack accommodations having preceded that of the hospital, the unfinished New York hospital, at the recommendation of the Committee of Safety, was occupied by the troops as quarters (see *Amer. Arch.*, 4th series, vol. v. p. 1423). Queen's College was also used as a barrack. Hospitals were chiefly in private houses. The expectation of a battle in the effort to hold New York induced the Director-General to provide hospital accommodations in excess of the existing actual demand. Hence, an application to the New York Convention was made by Dr. Morgan in person for the assignment of houses for hospitals.[1]

[1] New York Convention, 13 Aug. 1776. "Doctor John Morgan, Director General of the Hospital, attending, was admitted. He informed the Convention that General Washington had directed him to have all the sick removed to proper places out of such parts of the city as are closely built and inhabited; that a list of houses had been handed to him for the purpose by private persons, but that as he is a stranger, and does not know what particular houses might be proper to be exempted, and, therefore, requests the directions of this Convention in the premises.

"*Resolved*, That His Excellency General Washington be, and he is hereby, empowered to apply the following houses, to wit: Mr. Apthorpe's, Oliver Delancy's, and Robert Bayard's at Bloomingdale; William Bayard's at Greenwich; Mr. Watts', near Kepp's Bay; Robert Murray's, on Incklam Bergh; Mr. William McAdam's, and the houses and buildings occupied by Mr. Watson, near the old glass-house; Nicholas Stuyvesant's, Peter Stuyvesant's, Mr. Elliot's, Mr. Horsemanden's, commonly called Frog Hall; Widow Leake's, near Kepp's Bay, for the use of the general hospital of the American army.

"*Ordered*, That the General Committee of the city of New York do, on application by Dr. John Morgan, Director-General of the Hospitals of the Continental Army, appoint a proper committee of their body to ascertain and designate to him such houses on Nassau Island, to be by him used as a general hospital, as he may from time to time have occasion of for that purpose." (*Amer. Archiv.*, 5th series, vol. i. p. 1499.)

The failure of the Continental troops to hold New York against the British army suddenly and violently deranged all previous plans for hospital accommodations in and about the city of New York.

At Albany a hospital was opened in July, 1776, in a building erected for a hospital during the French war, and which was capable of accommodating five hundred patients, besides quarters for the officers, store-room, etc. To this the sick and wounded from Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and the northern army generally was removed. After the surrender of General Burgoyne's army, Albany was crowded with the sick and wounded of both armies. Thacher, in his journal, draws a graphic picture of the hospitals at Albany.[1]

[1] "August 30, 1777. The city of Albany is situated on the west bank of the Hudson or North River, 160 miles north of New York, and the river admits of sloop navigation between these two cities. It consists of about three hundred houses, chiefly in the Gothic style, the gable ends to the street. There is an ancient Dutch church of stone, a Congregational church, and a decent edifice called City Hall, which accommodates occasionally their General Assembly and courts of justice. The hospital was erected during the last French war; it is situated on an eminence overlooking the city. It is two stories high, having a wing at each end, and a piazza in front above and below. It contains forty wards, capable of accommodating five hundred patients, besides the rooms appropriated to the use of surgeons and other officers, stores, etc." (*Thacher's Journal*, p. 91.)

October 24th Dr. Thacher writes: "This hospital is now crowded with officers and soldiers from the field of battle; those belonging to the British and Hessian troops are accommodated in the same hospital with our own men, and receive equal care and attention. The foreigners are under the care and management of their own surgeons. I have been present at some of their capital operations, and remarked, that the English surgeons perform with skill and dexterity; but the Germans, with a few exceptions, do no credit to their profession. Some of them are the most uncouth and clumsy operators I ever witnessed, and appear to be destitute of all sympathy and tenderness towards the suffering patient. Not less than one thousand wounded and sick are now in this city. The Dutch church and several private houses are occupied as hospitals. We have about thirty surgeons and mates, and all are constantly employed. I am obliged to devote the whole of my time, from eight o'clock in the morning to a late hour in the evening, to the care of our patients. Some of our soldiers' wounds, which had been neglected while on their way here from the field of battle, being covered with putrefied blood for several days, were found on the first dressing to be filled with maggots. It was not difficult, however, to destroy these vermin

The fatigue and suffering of the troops in the battles which preceded the crossing of the American army into New Jersey, told severely upon the health of the soldiers; so that the Director-General and hospital surgeons were taxed to their utmost to provide cover and hospital supplies. Large hospitals were established during the fall and winter at Peekskill, Fishkill, and other places in New York State.[1]

The vigilance and efforts of General Heath to provide comfortable quarters for the soldiers, both sick and well, under his command, may be taken as a fair sample of the spirit with which the commanders executed their duties. The literature of the period is full of their appeals to Congress and entreaties to quartermasters, hospital directors,

by the application of the tincture of myrrh. Here is a fine field for professional improvement. Amputating limbs, trepanning fractured skulls, and dressing the most formidable wounds, have familiarized my mind to scenes of woe. A military hospital is peculiarly calculated to afford examples for profitable contemplation, and to interest our sympathy and commiseration. If I turn from beholding mutilated bodies, mangled limbs, and bleeding, incurable wounds, a spectacle no less revolting is presented of miserable objects languishing under afflicting diseases of every description —here are those in a mournful state of despair, exhibiting the awful harbingers of approaching dissolution—there are those with emaciated bodies and ghastly visage, who begin to triumph over grim disease, and just lift their feeble heads from the pillow of sorrow." (*Thacher's Military Journal* p. 112.)

[1] "Peekskill, November 19, 1776. Sir: There are at this place three brigades of troops, besides the garrisons of the forts Montgomery and Constitution, making in the whole upwards of five thousand men, and neither general hospital nor surgeon belonging to the general hospital at the post. The morning that His Excellency General Washington left this place I mentioned to him the case of the sick. His Excellency replied that he intended to have mentioned the sick, but that it had slipped his memory, and that I must apply to you.

"The daily complaints from the Colonels of the several regiments in the division, of the sufferings and distress of their sick, render it my indispensable duty to apply to you for assistance and relief, which I desire you would afford immediately, as the neglect of the sick will prove very prejudicial to the enlistment of a new army.

"I am, dear sir, yours affectionately,

"Doctor Morgan. W. Heath."

(*Amer. Arch.*, 5th series, vol. iii. p. 769.)

etc., to discharge their trust with dispatch and fidelity. The response of Dr. Morgan to Gen. Heath[1] shows how carefully

[1] Peekskill, November 20th, 1776. To General Heath. "Doctor Morgan proposes to General Heath the quarters be fitted up immediately for a general hospital for the reception of the sick at Peekskill. They ought to be floored above so as to make two stories each, and to have a stack of chimneys carried up in the middle.

"If convenient quarters are not provided for the sick, and they cannot be obtained unless the commander-in-chief of the division gives orders and enforces them effectually, every attempt to establish an hospital will prove ineffectual.

"To call for the establishment of a general hospital for surgeons to attend, and take care of the sick, and not to strengthen their hands, so as to enable them to do their duty, is the certain way of plunging them into insuperable difficulties, which must bring reflections on them, which it is not in their power to wipe off, but by showing the defect lies not at their door.

"Wherever a general hospital is established, it is necessary that the commissary in that department furnish the necessary hospital stores, in sufficient abundance, so that the surgeon on drawing for them be immediately provided with flour or bread, fresh meat, salt, vinegar, rum, soap, candles, vegetables, Indian meal, oatmeal, barley, rice, chocolate, coffee, tea, sugar, wine, butter, etc. It is also necessary, where other attendants cannot be had, as nurses, waiters, laborers, and cooks, out of the army, that fatigue men be appointed by the commander in sufficient number.

"It is further required that bed-bunks be made, and straw be always in readiness, for the sick, and a carpenter or two be employed solely in the business of the general hospital in making coffins, tables, and utensils of various kinds.

"From the Quartermaster's store should be provided blankets, bed-sacks, platters, kettles, spoons, knives and forks, and other articles of the like kind. Besides these several requisites, which depend not on the director-general or superintendent of an hospital, it is necessary for the better management of the hospital, that all the regimental surgeons and mates be kept to their posts, attend their regiment, and make weekly returns of their sick to the director-general when present, and in his absence to the surgeon of the general hospital, that provision be always made in time for the sick; to do which it is necessary that the state of the sick be constantly known.

"It is further necessary that all the surgeons of regiments be informed that the Congress have resolved, whenever the sick require any further provision than their rations, they are to be reported immediately to the general hospital and received into it, and that no issuing store will be opened to supply the sick remaining under their care with provisions from the general hospital.

"The weekly returns of the regimental surgeons to be in the form already

he had considered the subject of his duties and the promptness with which he replied to the general's letter.

It is quite evident, from the action of the New York Committee of Safety Dec. 6th, 1776, that General Heath had also applied to that body for assistance to render the condition of the soldiers under his command at Peekskill and at other points on the Hudson River as comfortable as possible for the winter.[1]

given out to them, and if any surgeon neglect being punctual in giving in his weekly returns, he should be reported to the commanding officer. That it may be known who are deficient therein, the director-general or surgeon of the general hospital, should be furnished by order of the commandant with a list of the regiments, and the names of the surgeons in that division.

"With every sick the regimental surgeon sends to the general hospital, there should be a report, joined with the application for admission, addressed to the surgeon of the general hospital, signed by the surgeon or mate of the regiment and by some commissioned officer belonging to the company or regiment, specifying when the sick was taken ill, and what was done; specifying, also, what blankets, clothes, etc., are sent with the sick. When this regularity is observed, it will be seen and known who do their duty, and who not, so that when complaints are made of the sick being neglected, it may be known at whose door the fault lies.

"Agreeable to General Heath's desire, these things are pointed out, and a surgeon with three or four mates shall be ordered to Peekskill to improve and take care of the general hospital.

"JOHN MORGAN."

(*Amer. Arch.*, 5th series, vol. iii. p. 781.)

[1] "Convention of New York, Dec. 6, 1776. Communicated to Gen. Heath. *Ordered*, That the committee to whom was referred the application of Doctor Hunlock Woodruff, for a place of cover for two hundred and thirty troops belonging to General McDougall's brigade, under the command of Captain Wildie, now lying at Peekskill, and also a letter received from Gen. Heath of the 3d inst., reported the following resolve:—

"*Resolved*, That the sick soldiers of General McDougall's Brigade, now lying at Peekskill, be permitted to occupy such parts of the Academy at Fishkill as are tenantable for an hospital, until they can be otherwise provided for.

"The sick of Colonel Bradley's regiment we had caused to be taken care of by a physician of this place until Doctor McKnight arrived; and be assured, sir, the non-attendance of a doctor or surgeon was not ascribed to any inattention of ours. Such parts of the unfinished Academy as are in any wise tenantable at this season of the year, were lately assigned for a distressed party of sick from General McDougall's Brigade; but we are informed by William Dure, Esq., under whose direction the barracks between Peekskill and this place are, that those in the north entrance of the Highlands,

The British pressed the American Army and forced the battle of Harlem Plains, which was fought on the 16th Sept., and on the 28th the battle of White Plains, the last two without any special results on either side. But the loss of Fort Washington on the 16th of Nov., and of Fort Lee on the 18th, disheartened and greatly reduced the active strength of the army, which retreated into New Jersey, and there went into winter-quarters.

We have already noted the provision made for the sick by the Colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut. All the others were equally solicitous on the subject, but the records of them on this point are either not so well preserved or are more difficult of access.

The southern people too, at an early period of the struggle, made liberal provision to establish hospitals and to procure competent surgeons and surgeons' mates for the army. Prior to the battle of Bunker's Hill, or the declaration of American independence, Virginia statesmen had discussed in convention the subject of establishing several hospitals at convenient points for the care and treatment of the sick and wounded soldiers, and had brought the subject to the attention of the continental convention.[1] The result of

and also that near Hoit's intended to contain upwards of one thousand men, are nearly completed.

"Those who are sick of your division may now be made comfortable; and if the building of any other hospital shall be necessary, you may be assured the convention will be ready to afford every necessary aid in their power for that purpose." (*Amer. Arch.*, 5th series, vol. iii. p. 361.)

[1] May, 1776. The Continental Congress *Resolved*, "That a Continental Hospital be established in Virginia and a director to the same immediately appointed by Congress.

"The Congress then proceeded to the election of a director of the hospital in Virginia; and the ballots being taken, William Rickman was elected.

"*Resolved*, That the hospital in Virginia be on the same establishment, and the pay of the officers thereof the same, as the hospital established in the Eastern Department.

"That two surgeons, one apothecary, six mates, one clerk, one storekeeper, and one nurse to every ten sick, with laborers occasionally, when necessary, be allowed to the hospital in Virginia.

"That the director be empowered to nominate the surgeons and apothecary.

"That the mates be appointed by the surgeons, and that the number of

this deliberation was the establishment at Williamsburgh, Va., of a large and well-appointed hospital, which was maintained to the close of the war. Virginia's compensation to the medical gentlemen, both in the matter of monthly pay and bounty, was considerate and liberal.[1]

the mates be diminished as circumstances will admit; for which reason the pay is fixed by the day, that they may only receive pay for actual service." (*Amer. Arch.*, 4th series, vol. vi. p. 1673.)

[1] On the 20th of May, 1776, the President laid before the Virginia Convention a letter from Dr. Skinner to Brigadier-General Lewis, "recommending a further provision to be made for the surgeons and surgeons' mates," which letter was referred to the Committee on the State of the Colony. "Mr. Cary reported that the committee had come to the following resolution, which was read and delivered to the clerk's table, where they are twice again read and agreed to:—

"It appearing to the committee that proper surgeons and mates cannot be engaged for the Continental troops in this Colony at the pay allowed by the General Congress, and that two mates are necessary for each regiment:

"*Resolved*, therefore, That the expense of one mate to each regiment, and the additional pay of the surgeon and mate, so as to bring the Congress allowance to that established by this convention, ought at present to be defrayed by this colony." (*Amer. Arch.*, 4th series, vol. vi. p. 1531.)

On the 21st of May, 1776, in the Virginia Convention, on motion, it was ordered that Mr. Starke, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Henry, Mr. Blair, Mr. Gilmer, Mr. Randolph, and Mr. Travis, be a committee to inquire for a proper hospital for the reception and accommodation of sick and wounded soldiers." (*Amer. Arch.*, 4th series, vol. vi. p. 1533.)

June 15, 1776. "Mr. Starke, from the committee appointed to inquire for a proper hospital for the reception and accommodation of the sick and wounded soldiers, reported, that the committee had accordingly made the said inquiry, and that at the instance of the committee, Dr. William Rickman, lately appointed by the General Congress to be physician and director-general to the Continental Hospital, accompanied them to the college, palace, and other places, and he advised that, though the college has room enough for the purpose of an hospital, yet, by reason of the many partitions therein, it will not admit of that thorough passage of air so absolutely necessary for invalids; that the college has, at a very considerable expense, been lately repaired, whitewashed, and thoroughly cleaned, for the reception of scholars, who are expected to return to their studies on Monday next, at which time the vacation ceases; that there are a large and valuable library and apparatus in it, which might probably be damaged in the removal, perhaps totally ruined; that several young gentlemen in the country have been accustomed to receive maintenance and education there as scholars on certain foundations established by different benefactors. That it also

Congress, Dec. 8, 1775, had resolved, that companies for two battalions be raised in New Jersey, and that a surgeon be allowed for each battalion. Dr. Wm. Barnet, Jr., was elected surgeon to Lord Stirling's, the first battalion raised in New Jersey. Separate commands were multiplying, and, therefore, the necessity for separate and defined districts, with medical directors of good executive ability for each. Medical appointments by Congress at this period had probably this policy in view.[1]

The exigencies of the war caused the collection of a very considerable militia, as well as Continental military force, in

appeared from examination of the palace and the opinion of Dr. Rickman, that it is adapted in all respects, without any alterations of consequence, for an hospital, whether considered as to size, situation, plan, or necessary offices; that, added to this, there stands a public building in the centre of the park, which may be taken as an appendage to the hospital, whither persons laboring under epidemical or infectious disorders may be removed, and the diseases thereby prevented from spreading.

"That the following private houses within the city of Williamsburgh may be purchased, to wit: Dr. James Carter's, which is but small, yet has many convenient buildings, which might be applied also to the purpose of hospitals, and the whole may be procured for the sum of £1000; Mr. James Hubard's, which does not contain many rooms, but they are commodious and airy, and may be had for the sum of about £1200, which, with the repairs lately made, it cost him, with the privilege reserved him of repurchasing on the same terms, and in the same condition, if at the end of the present trouble the publick should be inclined to sell it; also Mr. John Hatley Norton's, which is airy and pleasant, but the outhouses are few in number, and not in good repair; this may be had for £1300: and that it appears to them that no one of the three private houses above mentioned would singly be sufficient for the said purpose, though all of them together might; but adopting that method necessarily enhance the expense, as an additional number of surgeons, surgeons' mates, nurses, matrons, and other assistants would be unavoidable.

"And that they had come to the following resolution thereupon, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the clerk's table, where the same was again twice read and agreed to.

"*Resolved*, That the palace, and as many of the outbuildings as may be necessary for the purpose, be appropriated for a publick hospital, and that the physician and director-general be informed thereof." (*Amer. Arch.*, 4th series, vol. vi. p. 1573.)

[1] See Journ. of Congress, Feb. 13 and 26, for further details. The departments were known at this time as Eastern, Northern, Canadian, Middle, and Southern.

and around Philadelphia during the winter of 1776–77. With this concourse of troops, of course, came a demand for increased hospital accommodations. The Continental Congress passed a resolution looking to obtaining the use of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the sick troops of the Continental army. The council of safety co-operated actively in the measure, and appointed a committee to confer with the Board of War and to complete all needed arrangements for the accommodation and proper care of the sick and wounded. Dr. Thomas Bond, Jr., had charge of a hospital at Elizabethtown, which he was directed to move toward Philadelphia, which he did by placing his patients on a boat, no destination being at first determined upon. But the same day, writing to his father, Dr. Thomas Bond, he says, "I have leave to carry my sick where I think proper, and have therefore determined to proceed with them to Philadelphia. I therefore request you will direct the bearer, John Long, in my employ, to wait upon General Mifflin and request him to issue orders for the reception of forty sick, in some convenient place near the town, if to be had. I should be obliged to you to consult General Mifflin upon a proposal I have made of instituting hospitals for the sick in Darby, Chester, Marcus Hook, Wilmington, and New Castle. I think the water carriage from Trenton to these places would save much carting, and this plan much better than one now proposed of sending the sick to East Town, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Reading, etc." (*Pa. Archives*, vol. v. p. 79.)

The sympathy of the leading members of the profession was actively enlisted, not only for the cause of the colonies, but to the effort in lending their advice and aid for the relief of the sick and wounded soldiers.[1]

[1] "To Council of Safety, Dec. 4, 1776. Gentlemen: In my son's letter, laid before you, he requests provision may be made for 40 sick persons who are to be brought from his hospital to this city, and desires it may be considered whether it would not be most expedient for all the military hospitals to be fixed as near as possible to water carriage.

"With respect to the immediate provision he mentions for the sick, it appears to me that the Pennsylvania Battering house and Provincial Hospitals may accommodate them, and many more, without the least infringe-

Besides the Pennsylvania Hospital, the poor-house, some stores, and many private houses were for a time used as hospitals. But, very properly, it was the desire of the

ments on the original design of those institutions, by only removing and excluding at this time such sick as do not absolutely require the particular conveniences of those houses. With respect to water portage, military hospitals particularly require it, because the joltings of horse carriages would greatly aggravate the violences of fractured and splintered bones from gunshot wounds.

"A very short reflection on the nature and use of military hospitals, at this time, must convince you that a strict attention to them is of the utmost importance to the distressed and the community. I therefore take the liberty of advising that some able, judicious, and experienced person or persons may, in the character of physician and surgeon to the Pennsylvania troops and Director-General of the military hospitals in this State, be empowered to fix on proper places for opening and supplying them with assistants, nurses, and all other conveniences which art or humanity requires for their relief and support. That the Physicians-General and their mates shall be obliged to attend all such poor wounded, or sick soldiers, as shall choose to remain in their own habitations. That the physicians shall give particular directions for all the medicines and instruments in the hospitals and surgeons' chests, and make out general forms of prescription, agreeable to the custom of the best regulated armies in Europe, which would not only be a real advantage to the sick but a great saving of expense at this time, when foreign drugs are scarce and dear. And lastly, that the physicians shall be particularly enjoined to take every necessary precaution against the spreading of contagious diseases amongst the inhabitants.

"When I see so many of friends and valuable fellow-citizens exposing themselves to the horrors of war, I think it my indispensable duty to make them a tender of the best services in my power, upon condition that I can have the joint assistance of my son in the great undertaking, who, I am certain, you will find on inquiry, has already distinguished himself in this department. As I am told many of the sick are near the city, the sooner the matter is concluded on the better. I will do myself the pleasure to wait on you soon, and I am, gentlemen, your most respectful, humble servant. Th. Bond."

(*Pa. Archives*, vol. v. pp. 89, 90.)

Council of Safety of Pa., Dec. 5, 1776. "*Resolved*, That the Pennsylvania Hospital be taken up and employed for the sick troops of the Continental Army, in compliance with a request of Congress, and that the said troops be provided with medicine and every necessary."

The same day it was "*Resolved*, That Mr. Christopher Marshall be employed to assist the physicians in providing for the sick, and that he have authority to employ proper persons to assist him in procuring houses for

medical directors to have the hospitals located at some distance from, or at least outside, the city. The largest were located at Bethlehem,[1] Reading, Manheim, Lancaster, and Bristol.

them to lodge, and such other necessaries as may alleviate their distresses and render them comfortable." (*Pa. Colon. Record*, vol. xi. p. 34.)

Dec. 6, 1776, the Council of Safety of Pa. "*Resolved*, That Major Isaac Milchor, Mr. Thomas Smith, and Captain William Davis be authorized and empowered, with Mr. Christopher Marshall and Mr. Thomas Casdrop, to provide and take care of the sick troops daily coming to this city from camp, and that they make use of any empty houses and stores and other buildings in this city and the Liberties thereof, which they may think convenient for lodging such troops; and that they take to their assistance, in performing the said trust, such discreet persons as to them shall seem meet, and this board will defray every expense thereof." (*Pa. Colon. Record*, vol. xi. pp. 35, 36.)

[1] The Hospitals at Bethlehem, Pa.

"In these days, 1776, September 2–6, parties of militia, on their return from New York, passed, bringing the intelligence that a battalion from this county had suffered severely at the engagement with the British on Long Island, on the 27th of August last, having left most of its men either dead or wounded.

"It will be remembered that after the repulse at Gowanus, or Brooklyn Heights, Washington withdrew his troops to New York, and soon after evacuated that city, which fell into the hands of the British. This loss was followed by those of Fort Washington and Fort Lee in quick succession, late in the month of November. Washington having crossed the North River, now continued his retreat to Newark, New Brunswick, Princeton, and Trenton, and thence crossed to the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware, closely pursued by Cornwallis. General Lee's division of three thousand men, under command of General Sullivan, reached Bethlehem on the 17th of December, and encamped for the night on the south bank of the Lehigh.

"At this crisis in the affairs of the Continental Army, the removal of the hospital, in which two thousand sick and wounded were at this time lying, from Morristown to some point in the interior, was a measure which allowed of no delay, and on the 3d of December, the following announcement reached Bethlehem by express :—

"'According to His Excellency General Washington's order, the General Hospital of the army is removed to Bethlehem, and you will do the greatest act of humanity by immediately providing proper buildings for its reception.

John Warren,

General Surg. to the Continental Hosp.'

"In the evening of the same day, Drs. Warren and Shippen arrived, when arrangements were made for the reception of 250 of the hospital sick

This was a season of great discontent, and complaints felt to be chargeable to the general management of the war, which it was not prudent to criticize, could with impunity be indulged in against the hospital, so that it became popu-

in the 'Brethren's House.' The next morning they entered the settlement, a pitiable spectacle to behold, totally destitute, gaunt and famishing; and, says the diary, had we not supplied them with food, many of them would have perished; for three days elapsed before the arrival of the supplies intended for their use. Before the close of the winter, 110 of their number were released from suffering and distress by the hand of death. The first occupation of the Brethren's House by the hospital sick continued till the close of March, 1777, on the 29th day of that month, the remaining thirty convalescent soldiers setting out for the army.

"1777, Jan. 8, Dr. Morgan and surgeons received orders to repair to the army in New England.

"In the evening of the 19th of September we received (through Dr. Jackson) the following notice from the Director-General of the Continental Hospital.

"'GENTLEMEN: It gives me great pain to be obliged, by order of Congress, to send my sick and wounded soldiers to your peaceable village; but so it is. We will want room for two thousand at Bethlehem, Easton, and Northampton, and you may expect them on Saturday or Sunday.

"'These are dreadful times; consequences of unnatural wars. I am truly concerned for your Society, and wish sincerely this stroke could be averted, but 'tis impossible. WILLIAM SHIPPEN.'

"Seeing ourselves under the necessity of relieving the distress of the country, on the next day we gave orders for the evacuation of the Brethren's House by its residents, and its clearance from basement to attic.

"The second occupation of the Brethren's House by the hospital sick continued until June, 1778.

"October 4, 1777, loud cannonading was heard in the distance. Some days later, intelligence reached us of the battle of Germantown, and on the 6th and 7th, numbers of the wounded were conveyed here to the hospital.

"October 22. A number of wagons with sick from the army arrived. Upwards of 400 are at present in the Brethren's House alone, and 50 in the tents below.

"November 11. Dr. Aquila Wilmot, a hospital physician, died, and, pursuant to a request made on his death-bed, was interred in our graveyard.

"1777, December 24. During the month, large numbers of sick were brought to Bethlehem from the Jerseys, generally in open wagons, often amid snow and beating rain. The hospital list daily increased, and between Christmas and New Year's, upwards of seven hundred invalids were crowded into the Brethren's House alone. Numbers died—especially in the upper stories, where the filth and pollution were intolerable." (*Moravian Souvenir*, by Prof. W. C. Reichel.)

lar to decry its management. This was aggravated by the fact that the American army had largely concentrated, during the winter of 1776–77, in the vicinity of Philadelphia, where Congress was then in session, so that all classes became familiar with the distresses of the troops, which had the effect of exciting the philanthropists to make representations to members of Congress and persons influential with the Military Committee to secure greater comforts for the sick. Many suggestions were in consequence made to the generals and to Congress, but the scope of this paper will not allow me to note others than those in which the medical profession were interested.

The conviction was grounded in the minds of many that the organization of the medical department was defective and required some radical change. This was no doubt the motive that induced a number of medical men to make suggestions to generals, to Congress, and to individual members of that body, looking to its improvement, and which finally led to radical changes in its organization.[1]

[1] "To Richard Henry Lee, Bethlehem, Dec. 17, 1776. Dear Sir: After much difficulty and expense, I have removed all the sick to Easton, Bethlehem, and Allentown; their number is now much reduced, and all in a good way. I send twenty or thirty weekly to join the army. There is no paymaster or general near us, and I am almost out of cash; I must therefore beg the favor of you to procure me five thousand dollars, and send them by the bearer, Dr. Halling, for the use of this hospital. You will please to give a receipt for me, etc. . . .

"To Colonel Lee, of the honorable Continental Congress, Philadelphia.

"P. S. From a tedious experience, I have learned what is necessary in a military hospital, and think it my duty to give my opinion thereon to my friends in Congress. I have attended to this matter more carefully because I saw on my first entering the army that many more brave Americans fell a sacrifice to neglect and iniquity in the medical department than fell by the sword of the enemy. I saw directors, but no direction; physicians and surgeons, but too much about their business, and the care of the sick committed to young boys, in the character of mates, quite ignorant, and, as I am informed, hired at half price, etc. Some I found honestly doing the duty of their stations. How far my own department has been better filled does not become me to say, and I am not ashamed to own that I am conscious of many imperfections, but flatter myself that none of them have arisen from want of care and integrity in the director, or skill and industry

On the 6th of June, 1776, Dr. Jonathan Potts was appointed physician and surgeon in the Canadian Department,

in his physicians, surgeons, and mates; all the latter, he can with pleasure declare, have done more than their duty cheerfully.

"Some have arisen from my inexperience, some from the scarcity of many articles necessary for the sick, and some from the distracted, flying state of the army. All these causes, I persuade myself, will in a great measure be removed in the next campaign if our cruel enemies risk another.

"I would humbly propose the following arrangement as necessary, and I hope adequate to making the sick soldiery comfortable and happy: Suppose three armies, a northern, middle, and southern; to each of these the following officers:—

1 Director and Surgeon-General at . .	35*s.*	0*d.*	and	8	rations.
3 Sub or Assistant Directors . . .	22	6	"	6	"
10 Surgeons or Physicians . . .	20	0	"	4	"
20 Mates	7	6	"	2	"
1 Apothecary-General	20	0	"	4	"
4 Mates	7	6	"	2	"
1 To act as Quartermaster-General and Commissary-General	12	6	"	4	"
3 Deputies, or one to every hundred sick .	7	6	"	2	"
1 Steward to every hundred sick . .	5	0	"	2	"
1 Matron to every one hundred sick . .	3	9	"	2	"
1 Ward Master to every one hundred sick .	5	0	"	1	"
1 Nurse to every fifteen sick, 10*s.* 0*d.* per week, instead of one to every ten at 7*s.* 6*d.*; they are not to be had at 7*s.* 6*d.*					
1 To act as Secretary and Storekeeper to every hospital	7	6	"	2	"

"The Directors-General and sub-directors to be chosen by the Congress; the physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, by the directors; the mates by the physicians and surgeons, after a strict examination; all other officers by the directors.

"Not less than this, in my opinion, will induce men properly qualified to engage; and any others will be dear at any price.

"I have the honor to be, dear sir, your very humble servant,

"William Shippen, Jr.

"P. S. No regimental hospitals will now be necessary. To every regiment should be appointed by the Congress, after being examined and recommended by the directors and physicians and surgeons of the hospital, or by three or four of the most eminent in any State, appointed by that State for the purpose, one surgeon at 12*s.* 6*d.* and 4 rations per diem, and two mates at 6*s.* 3*d.* and 2 rations per diem.

"To be supplied with one case of amputating and trepanning instruments,

or at Lake George, but not to supersede Dr. Springer. (*Journ. of Congress*, June 6, 1776.)

The legislation in Congress at this time was notably in the direction of separate departments or divisions. On the 9th of October, 1776, Dr. Wm. Shippen, Jr., was appointed to provide and superintend a hospital for the army in New Jersey, leaving the hospitals on the east side of the North River under the control of Dr. Morgan.[1]

The appointment of Dr. Shippen to a directorship in the hospital department, without any consultation, as far as we know, with General Washington or Dr. Morgan, seems to have been brought about by the general discontent of the people and the army, and by the friends of Dr. Shippen, who had influence with Congress, and possibly his own solicitation. The resolution of Congress in October, which enlarged his authority and power, would seem to give color

one case pocket ditto, and such a chest of medicines as the directors shall think proper.

"Bethlehem, Dec. 20, 1776."

(*American Archives*, 5th series, vol. iii. p. 1259.)

[1] Oct. 9, 1776, Congress *Resolved*, That no regimental hospitals be for the future allowed in the neighborhood of the general hospital. That John Morgan, Esq., provide and superintend an hospital at a proper distance from the camp for the army posted on the east side of Hudson's River.

That Wm. Shippen, Jr., Esq., provide and superintend an hospital for the army in the State of New Jersey. That each of the hospitals be supplied by the respective directors with such a number of surgeons, apothecaries, surgeons' mates, and other assistants; and, also, such quantities of medicines, bedding, and other necessaries as they shall judge expedient. That they make weekly returns, to Congress and the commander-in-chief, of the officers and assistants of each denomination, and also the numbers of sick and diseased in their respective hospitals.

That the regimental surgeons be directed to send to the general hospitals such officers and soldiers of their respective regiments as, being confined by wounds or other disorders, shall require nurses or constant attendance, and from time to time to apply to the quartermaster-general, or his deputy, for convenient wagons for this purpose; also, that they apply to the directors in their respective departments for medicines and other necessaries. That the wages of nurses be augmented to one dollar a week.

That the commanding officer of each regiment be directed, once a week, to send a commissioned officer to visit the sick of his respective regiment in the general hospital, and report their state to him. (*Journal of Congress*, Oct. 9, 1776.)

to this hypothesis. His view of the duties of the position assigned him by Congress, was not promptly acquiesced in or understood in the same way by commanders generally, and led him to write complainingly on the subject to General Washington.[1] The general's reply not being satisfactory, he then wrote on the same subject, and complains to Congress, and even reflects on the course of Dr. Morgan[2]

[1] "HEAD QUARTERS, November 3d, 1776.

"DEAR SIR: I am favored with yours of the 29th last month. Although by the resolutions of Congress you are appointed to the director-generalship of the flying camp in New Jersey, and Doctor Morgan to that of the Continental army, which has lain on this side of the North River; yet I never imagined it meant to exclude either of you from the power of establishing hospitals on whichever side of the river you thought most convenient for your respective sick. Under the circumstances in which we left New York, we found it impossible to remove our sick up the country on this side the river; Doctor Morgan was therefore directed to provide and prepare hospitals for them in Jersey, to be under the control of him and his assistants.

"He informs me he has left Doctor Foster, with proper assistants, to take care of those sick who were removed from this army; and it is my desire that they may remain under his direction. He will undoubtedly take proper measures to provide comfortably for them. As fast as they recover they are to be sent over to this army again; and though they may have put you to some inconvenience for a time, yet consider the necessity of the times must plead the excuse. We have now established hospitals in this neighborhood, and therefore shall have occasion to send no more to Jersey. As fast as Doctor Foster's sick are removed, the houses will be left for your use and convenience.

"I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant.

"GEO. WASHINGTON.

"To Dr. WILLIAM SHIPPEN."

(*Amer. Archiv.*, 5th ser., vol. iii. p. 493.)

[2] "NEWARK, 9th November, 1776.

"DEAR AND HONOURABLE SIR: I think it proper to inform the honorable Congress that I have not yet taken any of the Continental sick on this side of the North River under my direction, agreeable to their last regulation, because Dr. Morgan differs in opinion with me concerning the meaning of Congress, and because General Washington desires they may remain under his care, as you will see by the enclosed letter from His Excellency, the General, who makes no distinction between my appointment in July and your resolves in October, and, in my opinion, has not seen the latter (which expressly says) all the sick on this side of the North River shall be under my care and direction.

"The Congress will see, by the enclosed from General Mercer, his senti-

and General Washington. Dr. Shippen's letters are diplomatic, and show that he felt confident that he and Congress had come to an understanding on the subject of the future medical management of the hospital department.

The further legislation which required weekly reports from the hospital surgeons as to the condition and number under treatment, was an important step in securing efficiency in the medical corps.[1] It was surprising that it had been so long

ments on the subject, and the necessity of my receiving further directions from them. I should not trouble the Congress on this head, but that I imagine they expect I am exerting my best endeavors to relieve the poor soldiery from the great distress they suffer daily, and because it is impossible Dr. Morgan can pay any attention to them, as he is now busy in establishing hospitals at a great distance, on the other side of Hudson's River.

"I have the honor to be, dear sir, your and the Congress's obedient and very humble servant, W. Shippen, Jun.

"To the Hon. John Hancock."

(*Amer. Arch.*, 5th ser., vol. iii. p. 618.)

[1] "Perth Amboy, N. J., November 1st, 1776.

"To Richard Peters,

"The Board of War:—

"Dear Sir: Enclosed is a return of the sick in my hospitals. Besides these there are in each regiment a number called sick that are not proper subjects for the hospital, and under the care of the regimental surgeons, though there are no regimental hospitals; this will account for the difference between the number of sick in Colonel Griffin's return and mine. Please to mention this to the Board.

"Your Excellency's humble, obedient servant,

"W. Shippen, D. H., etc.

"A return of the sick in the hospitals of Flying Camp and Jersey militia:—

"At Amboy, two hospitals; sick, 90; wounded, 7. Total, 97.

"At Elizabethtown: sick, 54; wounded, 3; sick from Canada, 25. Total, 82.

"At Fort Lee: sick of our own, 75; wounded do., 9; distressed New England troops, 19. Total, 93.

"Brunswick: sick, 10. Total, 10.

"Trenton: sick, 56. Total, 56.

"Amount of the whole, 338.

"Gentlemen: The number of sick and wounded in my department is three hundred and thirty-eight; four-fifths of them are in a fair way of recovery, and will soon join their respective companies. I have not yet taken charge of near two thousand that are scattered up and down the country in cold barns, and who suffer exceedingly for want of comfortable

neglected; but an examination of this particular phase of hospital management and military discipline makes it apparent that no good system of hospital returns ever came into use during the revolutionary war.

Dr. Morgan, Director-General of Hospitals, made numerous appeals to Congress for more definite instructions as to his duties and powers over the hospitals in the northern division of the army, and particularly as to his furnishing them with medicines and making medical appointments in the same. It seems that the medical director in that division of the army made no report to Dr. Morgan or to Congress of the number sick or of his hospital accommodation. No information was available on which could be based an exact judgment as to the medical management of that department. Believing it to be his duty, Dr. Morgan had always sent supplies and hospital stores when applied to, and had on one occasion appointed a medical officer, whose services, however, were not accepted.

This loose and unsystematic management Dr. Morgan foresaw must lead to unpleasant complications in the department, and dissatisfaction with commanders and with Congress. The doctor, in his anxiety and almost in despair, wrote to Samuel Adams a graphic account of the condition of the army in Canada, and suggested relief through additional legislation (see *Amer. Arch.*, 4th ser., vol. vi. p. 1069). It cannot, therefore, be claimed that Dr. Morgan was either ignorant of or indifferent to the condition and suffering of the troops in the northern army. Indeed, it is evident on almost every page of the history of this period that he made frequent and urgent appeals to Congress upon the subject, and

apartments, because Doctor Morgan does not understand the meaning of the honorable Congress in their late resolve, and believes yet they are to be under his direction, although they are on this side Hudson's River. He is now gone over to take General Washington's opinion; as soon as I receive the general's orders on this subject, I shall exert my best abilities to make the miserable soldiery comfortable and happy.

"I have the honor to be, gentlemen, your most obedient and very humble servant. W. Shippen, S. G. and D. H., etc."

(*Amer. Arch.*, 5th ser., vol. iii. p. 463.)

used his best endeavors to improve the management of the medical department in every division of the American army.

Much complaint of sickness and suffering on account of deficiencies of medical stores in the northern department continued to be made to Congress. The physician-in-chief of that department would not concede that he was to receive orders from Dr. Morgan, who had on all occasions, when applied to, promptly sent medical supplies, as was his duty, and he had also appointed suitable surgeons to attend the soldiers suffering in that region. (See Dr. Morgan's letter to Gen. Gates, *Amer. Arch.*, 5th series, vol. ii. p. 106.) But his appointees were not recognized, and their pay had been refused on technical grounds. Dr. Morgan's explanation of the condition of affairs was succinct and frank, and should have satisfied Congress. Under date of July 18, 1776, Dr. Morgan communicated to Gen. Washington a plan for the better management of the hospital department.[1] (*Amer. Arch.*, 5th series, vol. i. p. 416.)

[1] Dr. Morgan, in a letter to the President of Congress, written at New York under date of Aug. 12, 1776, gives a complete history of the medical department in the North, and concludes with the following statement of his feelings and wishes: "After all I have said, I cheerfully submit the propriety of my conduct in making the before-mentioned appointments in the general hospitals, and am desirous of conforming strictly to my instructions. If I have exceeded my commission, it has been for want of knowing the designs and resolves of Congress, or their being misunderstood. Should the Congress on that footing annul my appointments and make others, I must at least stand acquitted of intentionally going beyond the line of duty; and it will behoove Congress to be more explicit in respect to its intentions, for if the Congress does not suppose the appointment of any new surgeon rests with me, of what use is it to recommend one to me for my approbation? I must pay an implicit obedience to their simple recommendation. In that case, I do not imagine there will be the same security for harmony, or for having the business of the hospital so well executed, as where the choice of surgeons is left to the director-general, which is an additional incentive to industry and an obliging behavior in the surgeon thus freely elected to approve himself worthy of the choice. Be that as it may, wherever the path of duty is plain, I shall endeavor to walk steadily in it, having no design or inclination to exceed those bounds which the good of the service or the wisdom of Congress may prescribe to me. I entreat your excuse for this long letter, and beg permission to subscribe myself, with the greatest respect, your most obedient and very humble servant, JOHN MORGAN."

The spirit of antagonism between the regimental and hospital surgeons extended in some instances to the corps and regimental commanders. The real source of difficulty was defective legislative provision, a want of reciprocal courtesies and spirit of accommodation of the different departments, and the impossibility on the part of the Director-General to obtain supplies in sufficient quantity at all times, or to distribute them with that promptness desirable, which sudden emergencies and military disasters often rendered impracticable. Officers of all grades in the various departments were in the habit of writing exaggerated complaints to the Council of Safety and to Congress, and because sympathy could most certainly be excited in favor of the soldier, the hospital department was taken as the theme for denunciation, and accused of most cruel neglect, and in some cases of absolute inhumanity, and the gravest charges brought against the surgeons. A good illustration of the complaints, and the wholesale fault-finding indulged in on the part of correspondents, and the inconsiderate arraignment of the hospital management, as the sole cause of discontent, want of comfort, and suffering among the troops, may be found in a letter of General W. Smallwood to the Council of Safety of Maryland.[1] It is evident from

[1] "Philips Heights, Oct. 1776.—Our next greatest suffering proceeds from the great neglect of the sick; and the orders relative to this department are most salutary, were they to be duly attended to; but here, too, there is not only a shameful, but even an inhuman neglect daily exhibited. The Directors of the General Hospitals supply and provide for the sick, who are extremely remiss and inattentive to the well-being and comfort of these unhappy men; out of this train they cannot be taken. I have withdrawn all mine long ago, and had them placed in a comfortable house in the country, and supplied with only the common rations. Even this is preferable to the fare of a General Hospital. Two of these Regimental Hospitals, after I have had them put in order, one has been taken away by the Directors for a General Hospital, and my people turned out of doors, and the other would have been taken in the same manner, had I not have applied to General Washington, who told me to keep it. The misfortune is, that every supply to the Regimental Hospital of necessaries suitable for the sick, must come from an order from these Directors, and is very seldom obtained. I have more than once applied that my quartermaster might furnish and make a charge for what was supplied, by which means I could

this letter that the commanders had, in their sympathy for the regimental surgeons, come to throw embarrassments in the way of the execution of the regulations of the Directors of the general hospital; hence the action of Congress of Oct. 9, 1776.

The enthusiasm with which the people had at first rushed into the military service, began to be qualified by calm reason, whilst in some selfish propensities developed themselves and influenced individual action.

Gen. Washington, in a letter of Sept. 24, 1776, had expressed to Congress the view that, in order to secure the highest efficiency, there ought to be one recognized head to the whole medical department.[1]

have rendered the situation of the sick much more comfortable, at a less expense, but could not be allowed. I wish this could be obtained. I foresee the evils arising from this shameful neglect in this department. One good-seasoned and well-trained soldier, recovered to health, is worth a dozen new recruits, and is often easier recovered than to get a recruit, exclusive of which this neglect is very discouraging to the soldiery, and must injure the service upon the new enlistments, after the troops go into winter-quarters." (*Amer. Archives*, 5th series, vol. ii. p. 1099.)

[1] *Amer. Annals*, 5th series, vol. ii. p. 497. "No less attention should be paid to the choice of surgeons than other officers of the army. They should undergo a regular examination, and if not appointed by the Director-General and surgeons of the hospital, they ought to be subordinate to and governed by his directions.

"The regimental surgeons I am speaking of, many of whom are very great rascals, countenancing the men in sham complaints to exempt them from duty, and often receiving bribes to certify indispositions with a view to procure discharges or furloughs.

"But independent of these practices, while they are considered as unconnected with the general hospital, there will be nothing but continual complaints of each other—the director of the hospital charging them with enormity in their drafts for the sick, and they him for denying such things as are necessary. In short there is a constant bickering among them which tends greatly to the injury of the sick, and will always subsist till the regimental surgeons are made to look up to the Director-General of the hospital as a superior. Whether this is the case in regular armies or not, I cannot undertake to say; but certain I am, there is a necessity for it in this, or the sick will suffer. The regimental surgeons are aiming, I am persuaded, to break up the General Hospital, and have in numberless instances drawn for medicines, stores, etc., in the most profuse and extravagant manner for private purposes."

This was also Dr. Morgan's view, but he was at the same time anxious to conform to the wishes of Congress.

That General Washington entertained a high regard for medical men, and felt bound to secure them full justice in the army, is evidenced by his letter to General Smallwood of the 13th of January, 1778, relative to the British brig Symetry, which had been captured by General Smallwood's forces in the Delaware near Wilmington. The prize contained many articles much needed by the officers and soldiers in camp; hence the feverish anxiety of all as to the regulations and principles which should govern the distribution of the cargo. The letter, as far as I know, has never been published. It is still in a good state of preservation, and is now the property of Dr. James C. Hall, of Washington, D. C. A literal copy is given in foot-note.[1]

Growing out of the capture referred to in the foregoing

[1] HEAD QUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE, 13th of Jan. 1778.

DEAR SIR: Since writing to you this morning on the subject of the prize Brig Symetry, the Regulations of the Field Officers of the Division for conducting the Sale and disposing of the cargo was laid before me with a letter from the Regimental Surgeons and Mates to Docr. Cochran. These Gentlemen feel themselves so much hurt by the discrimination made by these Regulations between them and the officers of the division that they have sent in their Resignations.

As the common Guardian of the Rights of every Man in this Army I am constrained to interfere in this matter and to say that by these regulations a manifest injury is intended not only to the Gentlemen in the medical line, but to the whole Staff, who, supposing the prize should be adjudged the sole property of the Captors (a matter in my opinion not easily to be reconciled on principles of equity and Reason), have as good a right to become purchasers in the first instance and to all other privileges, as any Officers in the Division.

For these Reasons therefore I desire that you will not proceed to a Sale or distribution of any of the Articles, except the Vessel, till you have my further directions, and that you will as early as possible transmit me an inventory of the Baggage and Stores.

The letter to Congress is nevertheless to go on, and you will please to forward it by the first conveyance.

I am, Dear Sir,

Yr. most obt. Servt.,

(Signed) G. WASHINGTON.

GENERAL SMALLWOOD.

letter was the following request, made by General Washington on the 22d of Jan. 1778, of General Smallwood, which furnishes additional proof of his consideration for medical men and the medical profession, in his desiring to return to a British surgeon books and manuscripts taken in "the prize Symetry." "A few days ago," he says, "I received a very polite letter from Doctor Boyes, Surgeon of the 15th regiment, British, requesting me to return him some valuable medical manuscripts, taken in the brig Symetry. He says, they are packed in a neat kind of portable *library*, and consist of Dr. Cullen's lectures on the practice of med., thirty-nine or forty vols.; Cullen's lectures on the Institutes of Med., eighteen vols.; Anatomical lectures, eight vols.; and Dr. Black on Chemistry, nine vols.; the whole in octavo. If they can be found, I beg that they may be sent up to me, that I may return them to the Doctor. I have no other view in doing this, than that of showing our enemies that we do not war against the Sciences." (*Sparks's Life and Writings of Washington*, vol. v. p. 223.)

Gen. Washington's views, which were substantially those of Dr. Morgan, as to hospital management were at a later period adopted. In the interest of good management and immediate improvement of the medical department, with the approval of Gen. Washington, a conference was had early in July, at the request of Dr. Morgan, between the regimental surgeons and mates and himself, at which regulations for the government of the medical department were adopted, the first of which we have any record.[1]

[1] Hospital Regulations.—Regulations agreed upon betwixt the Director-General of the American Hospital and the Regimental Surgeons and Mates at New York, the day of July, 1776:—

Rule 1*st*. That every full regiment or battalion, provided with a surgeon and mate, or each brigade, as the occasion may point out, ought to have some convenient quarters, to be appropriated by the proper quartermaster, for the reception of such of the sick of that corps, and entitled a Regimental Hospital; which sick are to be attended by their own regimental surgeons and mates.

2*d*. That it shall be the business of the surgeons and mates in all regiments to examine the soldiers in the same who are reported to be unfit for

Congress was steadily assuming a more complete supervision of all military operations (see *Journ. of Congress*,

duty, and to separate from the well those who are sick, and to receive them into the Regimental Hospital..

3*d*. That they shall keep a register of those who are admitted into the Regimental Hospital, containing the patient's name, the company he belongs to, the days of his admission into and discharge from the hospital (agreeable to a form annexed).

4*th*. That he shall make daily returns of the sick in his regiment to the commanding officer of the same, that it may be known who are fit for duty and who are not, and that such as are on the doctor's list may not be included in the provision return of the regiment.

5*th*. That the surgeon shall every day prescribe the diet of each sick person under his care, according to the diet tables established in the General Hospital, or other suitable tables to be agreed on, under the titles of full diet, half diet, spare diet, dry diet, milk diet, etc.

6*th*. That he make out and sign the provision return every day for the sick, and draw upon the Director-General of the hospital, agreeable to the tables of diet before mentioned; for the regulation of which, weekly returns of the number sick (in that week) shall be made out on a stated day, so that whatever the price of diet drawn for said sick, shall fall short of the rations stopped from the sick during the week, so much may be drawn for their use in other stores, as wine, rum, sugar, coffee, tea, molasses, candles, soap, etc. [If that surplus of money is not sufficient, there are no other ways to supply than either to do it by stoppages of the soldier's pay, as in the British army, or by its being advanced by himself, or by the colonel or the captain of the regiment to which he belongs, and allowed in his abstract; the General Hospital having nothing to do with the expenses of Regimental Hospitals, and no provision for the purpose being yet made by the Congress.]

7*th*. That no regimental surgeon shall send any sick from his regiment or Regimental Hospital to the General Hospital without a ticket expressing the name of the sick, his company, and the regiment to which he belongs, signed by himself or mate, and mentioning likewise the disorder he labors under, and the time he has been ill.

8*th*. That he send none to the General Hospital laboring under infectious, putrid, or malignant diseases; for the introduction of such fevers into a general hospital will only injure the persons sent, and may endanger the surgeons, mates, and other officers, as well as all that are sick of other diseases in the General Hospital, engender the jail or hospital fever, and ruin the army. Such sick are to be kept separate, if possible, and be taken care of by the regimental surgeon.

9*th*. That whatever stores or utensils may be wanted for the use of a Regimental Hospital, whether kettles to cook victuals, blankets, etc., they ought to be got from the Quartermaster-General's store, or procured from

April 7, 1777), yet the spirit of independence in the colonies, and indeed the necessity of their home defence, rendered it necessary to maintain a colonial as well a continental army. A proper subordination was often difficult, but with good will for a basis, system and order, and therefore strength, were gradually developing in all the departments.[1]

the same place and in the same manner as the like articles are procured for the well soldiers of the regiment, to be provided by an order from the colonel, the surgeon to give his receipt for and take care of the same; for the preservation of which he may establish such regulations as he sees fit.

10*th*. That as the medicine chest, and a number of articles, as old linen, bandages, etc., have been supplied to regiments at the voluntary motion of the Director-General of the General Hospital, with the approbation of the Commander-in-chief, whenever the regiments are disbanded all such particulars are to be returned into the General Hospital; otherwise, when new troops are levied, under the present scarcity and difficulty to procure them, it may not be practicable or easy to supply the army again with those articles for another year.

11*th*. That for every Regimental Hospital a cook ought to be allowed, to prepare the diet of the sick agreeable to the tables, or nurses who may serve for cooks, one to every ten men; the pay the same as in the General Hospital, viz., half a dollar per week, and ration allowed (by the regiment).

12*th*. That each regimental hospital ought to have a corporal's guard, or at least three men, one of which to stand sentinel at the hospital door, to prevent the sick from leaving the hospital without permission from the surgeon, and to keep persons from going in without orders, to disturb the sick, or carry liquor to them. The other persons, whilst relieved from standing sentinel, to serve for a time as waiters, and obey the surgeon and his mate, in respect to any assistance which may be reasonably required in behalf of the sick.

Lastly. That in all cases not provided for by the foregoing or any future regulations that may be agreed upon, the surgeons and mates shall observe the customs and usages of the British army, and shall at all times obey such orders as they shall (in the way of duty) receive from the Director-General for the treatment of the sick, or for the discharge of the duties of their station. (*American Archives*, 5th series, vol. i. p. 108.)

[1] Nov. 29, 1776, Congress resolved that the Medical Committee be directed to provide sufficient quantities of antiscorbutic for the use of the hospitals in the Northern army.

That the hospital at Fort George be continued for the reception of soldiers laboring with contagious diseases, and that there be a general hospital erected on Mount Independence. That a suitable spot of ground for a garden be inclosed in the neighborhood of the general hospital to supply the army with vegetables, and that laborers be hired to cultivate it under

With a view to further improve the medical department, Congress, on the 30th of Sept. 1776, passed resolutions requiring examiners to be appointed to determine upon the qualifications of those applying to enter the medical service, and requiring their approval before appointments should be confirmed.[1]

The General Assembly of Connecticut, whose soldiers had been largely employed in the lake region, where there had been much suffering from sickness, and possibly inefficient management on the part of the medical officers, passed, Oct. 1776, a resolution to create a committee of medical gentlemen to examine applicants for admission as surgeons and mates into the army and navy belonging to the colony. The form of an oath was at the same time prescribed which the examiners were required to subscribe to.[2]

the direction of an overseer to be appointed by the general or commanding officer.

That the general or commanding officer in each of the armies cause strict inquiry to be made into the conduct of the directors of the hospitals, and their surgeons, officers, and servants, and of regimental surgeons, that if there has been any just ground of complaint in those departments, the offenders may be punished. That the colonel or commanding officer of every regiment make frequent inquiry into the health of the men under his command, and report the state thereof, with any negligence, malpractice, or other misconduct of the surgeons and others, to the General, and to Congress, delivering copies of such reports to all persons therein accused.

[1] Journ. of Cong., Sept. 30, 1776. "That it be recommended to the legislatures of the United States to appoint gentlemen in their respective States, skilful in physic and surgery, to examine those who offer to serve as surgeons or surgeons' mates in the army or navy; and that no surgeon or mate shall hereafter receive a commission or warrant to act as such in the army or navy who shall not produce a certificate from some one of the examiners so to be appointed, to prove that he is qualified to execute the office. That all regimental surgeons and mates, as well as those of the hospital, be subject to the direction and control of the directors in the several departments.

"That no soldier be discharged from the service as disabled, unless the certificate of disability be countersigned by the director, assistant physician, or first surgeon of the hospital, nor be excused from duty for sickness, unless the certificate of sickness be countersigned by one of those persons where access may be had to them."

[2] *Amer. Arch.*, vol. iii., 5th series, p. 455. "*Resolved* by this Assembly, That Doctors Alexander Wolcott, John Dickinson, John Watrous, Eneas Munson, Leveret Hubbard, Elias Camington, Elisha Tracy, Benj. Gale,

The leading men of Connecticut were patriotic, vigilant, and well informed in what was essential in raising and properly equipping an army. Her soldiers were brave, and among the earliest to take the field and win distinction by their prowess; they were poorly supplied for a long campaign, however. The comfort of the soldier and his care and skilful treatment when sick or wounded was held to be a paramount duty of the officers and the State government. Connecticut was the first to suggest and to put in operation convalescent hospitals,[1] which, no doubt, prevented much suf-

Eleazar Mather, Platt Townsend, Amos Mead, James Cogswell, John Clark, Elisha Lord, Samuel Lee, Reuben Smith, Elisha Sill, and Seth Bird, or any three of them, be appointed, and they hereby are appointed and authorized to examine such persons within this State, as may offer themselves to serve as surgeons or surgeons' mates in the Continental Army or Navy, and upon full evidence of proper and sufficient qualifications to give certificates accordingly. And it is further resolved by this Assembly, That said examiners, and all others who may hereafter be appointed for the same purpose, shall be under oath for their faithful performance of their trust, according to their best skill and judgment. That the form of said oath shall be as follows, viz.: You, A. B., being appointed to examine those persons within this State who shall offer to serve as surgeons or surgeons' mates in the Continental Army or Navy, do swear by the name of the everlasting God, that you will faithfully and impartially execute said trust, according to your best skill and judgment, and give certificates to such as you shall find qualified to serve in said office, without respect of person or favor to any man. So help you God. Which oath any one Assistant Justice of the Peace is hereby authorized and directed, on request, to administer to the examiners that are or shall be appointed for the purpose aforesaid."

[1] Connecticut Assembly, Oct. 1776. "*Resolved*, by this Assembly, that a hospital shall be provided and maintained by this State for the reception and relief of such soldiers from this State as shall serve in the Continental Army, and such of the militia from this State as may from time to time join said army during the present war.

"That said hospital shall be under the direction of a chief surgeon or director, appointed by this State, and shall be furnished with skilful surgeons, medicines, and other necessaries. That the director or chief surgeon shall have the custody of the stores of medicines and other refreshments from time to time for the use and relief of the sick, who shall issue the same to the regimental surgeons as the necessities of their respective regiments require.

"And be it further *Resolved*, That his honor the Governor and his Council of Safety be authorized and directed, with the advice of his excellency the General, to provide such hospital, appoint surgeons and other proper

fering, and assisted in restoring many to health and future usefulness in the army, who, if longer neglected, would have sunk beyond recovery. Perhaps the largest of the general hospitals in this State was at Stamford, of which Dr. Philip Turner was the surgeon in charge.

To meet the requirements of the service in supplying and

officers, give orders for procuring proper medicines and refreshments, and regulate the issuing the same from said hospital as they shall judge most likely to answer the good ends intended to be attained by this resolve.

"And be it further *Resolved*, That four hundred bed sacks, four hundred shirts, and four hundred blankets and eight hundred sheets be immediately procured for the use of the sick in said hospital, all which shall be delivered to the chief surgeon, taking his receipt to be accountable for the same." (*Amer. Arch.*, 5th series, vol. iii. p. 456.)

The meeting of the Governor and the Council of Safety of Connecticut, Sept. 18, 1776, took the following action:—

"It being represented to this board that many of the troops from this State are returning home sick and wounded, and that they are exposed to suffer for want of proper accommodations and refreshments:

"Voted and *Resolved*, That convenient hospitals be provided for the reception and accommodation of the troops from the army, at and near New York, who are sick, on furlough, or discharged; that one or more such hospitals be procured in every town between New Haven and King's Bridge, in the State of New York; that a suitable person be employed at each of said hospitals, whose duty it shall be to see that the same be furnished with provisions and refreshments for the use of the sick and wounded soldiers that may be received there, and that they be properly attended and taken care of therein; that the selectmen in the towns from New Haven to Greenwich be appointed and empowered, on behalf of the State, to take up and provide such hospitals in their respective towns, and to procure proper persons to oversee and furnish said hospitals as aforesaid, and also to examine into the state and circumstances of sick soldiers belonging to this State on the road home, and to afford them such assistance as they judge necessary, and that Mr. Elkanah Tisdale be appointed to provide such hospitals in the State of New York, and appoint overseers to furnish them as aforesaid; that an order be drawn on the pay-table to draw upon the treasurer to pay said Elkanah Tisdale the sum of £100 lawful money, to enable him on his part to carry this resolve into execution, and render his account of the same; and that said Tisdale do communicate, and leave attested copies of this resolve, with the several selectmen aforesaid; and that he do also advise with and ask the assistance of the committees in the State of New York, and also of General Washington (if necessary), in executing this resolve as aforesaid (order drawn and delivered to Mr. Tisdale, Sept. 20, 1776)." (*Amer. Arch.*, 5th series, vol. ii. p. 387.)

distributing medicines and hospital stores to the army, Congress, in August, appointed Dr. William Smith, of Philadelphia, a druggist to the army, with a salary of $30 per month. Dr. Stringer, having failed to give satisfaction, notwithstanding the strong personal friendship of Gen. Schuyler for him, was dismissed on the 9th of January, 1777, and Dr. Potts was directed, by a resolution of Congress, January 14, 1777, to supersede him in authority. The strenuous efforts of Dr. Morgan to place the hospital department on a better footing had caused many interested, and some incompetent parties to oppose him. This clamor against the doctor increased as the troops and officers collected in Philadelphia and mingled in society; and it was so pressed by his opponents, that he was at length summarily dismissed Jan. 9, 1777, without a hearing. His reputation was practically sacrificed, and his eminent abilities lost to his country.[1]

The doctor presented to Congress a defence of his official course while Medical Director of the Continental Army, and asked that an inquiry be made into his conduct. The subject was referred to a committee, but a report was not made until June 12, 1779. This report fully exonerated him from blame, but did not restore him to service, and placed the cause of removal on grounds of public policy.[2]

[1] Jan. 9, 1777. "Congress resumed the consideration of the Medical Committee, whereupon, *Resolved*, That Dr. John Morgan, Director-General, and Dr. Samuel Stringer, Director of the Hospital in the Northern Department of the Army of the United States, be and they are hereby dismissed from any further services in said offices. That the directors of the military hospitals throughout the army, with the assistance of the hospital and regimental surgeons in each department, make returns to Congress, as soon as possible, of the kind and quantity of medicines, instruments, and hospital furniture that remain on hand."

[2] June 12, 1779. "Congress took into consideration the report of the committee, consisting of Mr. Drayton, Mr. Harvie, Mr. Witherspoon, to whom was referred the memorial of Dr. John Morgan, late director-general and physician-in-chief in the general hospitals of the United States, and thereupon came to the following resolutions: Whereas, by the report of the medical committee, confirmed by Congress on the 9th of August, 1777, it appears that Dr. John Morgan, late director-general and chief physician of the general hospitals of the United States, had been removed from office on the 9th of January, 1777, by reason of the general complaint of persons of all

Congress on the 7th of April, 1777, resumed the consideration of a report on the hospitals. Plans had been proposed by Dr. John Cochran and Dr. Wm. Shippen, patterned after those of the British Army, which received the endorsement of Gen. Washington, and were adopted. (See Journal of Congress, April 7, 1777.) These latter regulations were more explicit in prescribing the duties and powers of the department of medicine, and it divided the country into military districts, namely, Eastern, Northern, Middle, and inferentially a Southern division, also making appointments of medical officers for each. The military rank of the medical staff was also better defined. Dr. James Tilton, in his little work on hospitals, says that there were, in 1781, thirteen divisions of military commands of major-generals. New hospital regulations were also presented and adopted by Congress, Sept. 30, 1780.[1]

ranks in the army, and the critical state of affairs at that time; and that, the said Dr. John Morgan requesting an inquiry into his conduct, it was thought proper that a committee of Congress should be appointed for that purpose. And, whereas, on the 18th day of September last, such a committee was appointed, before whom the said Dr. John Morgan hath in the most satisfactory manner vindicated his conduct in every respect as director-general and physician-in-chief, upon the testimony of the commander-in-chief, general officers, officers in the general hospital department, and other officers in the army, showing that the said director-general did conduct himself ably and faithfully in discharge of the duties of his office; therefore *Resolved*, That Congress are satisfied with the conduct of Dr. John Morgan while acting as director-general and physician-in-chief in the general hospitals of the United States, and that this resolution be published."

[1] April 11, 1777. Congress then proceeded to election of officers in the hospital department, and the ballots being taken,

Dr. Wm. Shippen, Jun., was chosen, by unanimous ballot of the thirteen States, director-general of all the military hospitals for the armies of the United States.

Dr. Walter Jones, physician-general of the hospital in the middle department.

Dr. Benj. Rush, surgeon-general of the hospital in the middle department.

Dr. John Cochran, physician and surgeon-general of the army in the middle department.

Dr. Isaac Forster, deputy director-general of the hospital in the eastern department.

Dr. Ammi Ruhamah Cutter, physician-general of the hospital in the eastern department.

The surgeons and mates had from 1776 been petitioning Congress for an increase of pay. In May, 1778, it was raised to $60 for surgeons, and $40 for mates. As depreciation in the Continental currency increased, even this pay became inadequate to their support. August 24, 1780, as an inducement to officers to continue in the service to the end of the war, Congress had devised and established a system of half-pay and commutation at the end of the war, which was so amended as to benefit widows and orphans, but in none of these acts was the hospital department or surgeons and mates included. The schedule of pay adopted by Congress in 1780, therefore, but slightly improved the medical department, and did not, as was expected it would, include medical officers among those entitled to half pay, etc. But on July 17, 1781, a law was passed placing surgeons and surgeons' mates upon an equal footing with other officers of similar grade.

Virginia, with her immense territory of unoccupied lands, early made liberal provisions for disposing of it as a bounty or as land grants to her soldiers, including surgeons and mates who served to the close of the war either in her army or navy. This State finally ceded all her western lands to the United States.

About 70 surgeons and surgeons' mates received land from Virginia for services rendered in the Revolutionary war.[1]

Dr. Philip Turner, surgeon-general of the hospital in the eastern department.

Dr. William Burnet, physician and surgeon-general of the army in the eastern department.

Dr. Jonathan Potts, deputy director-general of the hospital in the northern department.

Dr. Malachi Treat, physician-general, ditto.

Dr. Forgue, surgeon-general, ditto.

Dr. John Bartlett, physician and surgeon-general of the army of the northern department.

[1] List of physicians known to have received land from the State of Virginia—

Alexander, Archibald, Contin'tal Surg.
Alexander, Geo. D., " "
Baldwin, Cornelius, " "
Brodie, Ludovick, State Surgeon.
Brown, Daniel, Continental Surgeon.
Brown, Joseph, Continental Surgeon.
Brown, Wm., " "
Calvert, Jonathan, Surgeon's Mate.
Carter, Thomas, State Surgeon.
Carter, Wm., Sr., Continental Surgeon.

From this time forward, the medical department had fewer annoyances, because of the better defined rules and greater familiarity with duties; the higher standard of qualification demanded for surgeons and surgeons' mates in the regimental and hospital departments, also adding greatly both to efficiency and harmony.

There was, however, much suffering in the army, and also in the hospital department, during the year 1777–78, chiefly from scarcity of funds and deficient supplies of all kinds. Those were without exaggeration the dark years of the Revolution. But the fortitude and determination of the people were equal to the crisis. Nothing is so difficult as a beginning. The machinery for recruiting and supporting armies in the field was now getting into full operation, so that final success depended upon good generalship and the wisdom of Congress. If any army and country ever possessed these,

Choplin, Benj., Surg. Navy.
Christie, Thomas, Continental Surgeon.
Clements, Mace, " "
Craik, James, " "
Davis, Joseph, " "
De Benneville, Daniel, " "
Dixon, Anthony,
Dixon, Anthony F., State Surg.
Draper, George, Continental Surgeon.
Duff, Edward, " "
Evans, George, " "
Fullerton, Humphrey, " "
Galt, John M., " "
Galt, Patrick, " "
Gay, Samuel, " "
Gould, David, " "
Graham, Stephen, Hosp. Mate.
Green, Charles, State Surg.
Greer, Charles, Surg. Navy.
Greer, Charles, Continental Surgeon.
Griffith, David, Cont'l Surg. and Chap.
Hamm, Valentine, State Surg.
Hay, Joseph, " "
Holmes, David, Continental Surgeon.
Hunter, George, Surg. Navy.
Irvine, Matthew, Continental Surgeon.
Julian, John, " "
Lendrum, Thos., Surg. Mate State Navy.
Livingston, Justice, Surg. Navy.
Lyons, John, Surg. Mate State Navy.
Macky, Robert, Continental Surgeon.
McClurg, Walter, Surg. Navy.
McMechen, Wm., Continental Surgeon.
Middleton, Bassett, " "
Monroe, George, " "
Pell, Joseph S., Surg. Navy.
Pelham, Wm , Continental Surgeon.
Pitt, John, Surg. Navy.
Pope, Matthew, State Surg.
Pratt, Shuball, Continental Surgeon.
Quinlan, Joseph, " "
Ramsay, John, " "
Ray, Andre, State Surg.
Richman, Wm., Col. Continental Army.
Roberts, John, State Surg.
Rose, Robert, Continental Surgeon.
Rumney, Wm., " "
Seigle, Frederick, " "
Selden, Wilson C., State Surg.
Sharpless, John, Surg. Navy.
Shinner, Alex., Continental Surgeon.
Slanter, Augustin, " "
Smith, Samuel, " "
Snead, Robert, Surg. Navy.
Swoope, John, " "
Taylor, Charles, Continental Surgeon.
Trezvant, John, " "
Wallace, James, " "

America was favored with them to an unexampled degree. All subsequent legislation upon hospital matters was in the direction of perfecting plans already inaugurated, the details of which may be found in the Journals of Congress. The separation of the purveying from the hospital management was an important step in giving confidence to this branch of the service.

From what has been said, I trust you may be able to gather some idea of the difficulties that at first surrounded the surgeons of the Revolution, and the steps which led up to the systematic organization now existing in the medical department of the United States Army.

Of course, in the hundred years just passed, there have been many amendatory enactments and changes to bring the latter body to its present efficiency, which is not excelled by any similar organization in the world, and which has received repeated compliments from the profession and governments in Europe.

Large hospitals were established in the vicinity of New York, and a continental hospital was erected at Providence, R. I., and the college building used. A general hospital, under the direction of Dr. John Warren, was opened at Long Island. After the battle of August, 1776, it was removed to Hackensack; one had already been established at Albany. We find in a report of Dr. Shippen to the board of war, 1st November, 1776, that there were in New Jersey two hospitals at Amboy, one at Elizabeth, one at Fort Lee, one at Brunswick, and one at Trenton. In Pennsylvania, there was a number of hospitals in and near Philadelphia. A large general hospital was established at Bethlehem, in which Dr. Tilton says that one of the hospital surgeons, Dr. Jos. Harrison, died of typhoid fever contracted in the discharge of his duties. A severe form of this fever had prevailed in the hospital at Trenton. The poor-house at Philadelphia was used as an hospital during the time the army lay in the vicinity of the city. There was also a general hospital at Alexandria and another at Williamsburg, Va. I have not had the time to look up dates when hospitals were established at other points in the South.

It is not my purpose to dwell upon the class of diseases the surgeons of the army were called upon to treat, the skill with which they discharged their duty, or the character and suitability of the structures used as hospitals. To do this with judgment would require much time and a different study from that which I projected for this discourse. I may, however, remark that it is to be regretted that so few of the surgeons of the war have left records of their observations and experience. The number who have done so can be readily counted on the fingers: Thacher's Military Journal, Tilton on Military Hospitals, Rush's Observations on Disease in Military Hospitals of the United States, and Dr. Ebenezer Beardsley's History of Dysentery in the 22d Connecticut Regiment, published in Proceedings of Conn. Med. Society.

The surgeons of that period had better results, considering their means and hospital facilities, than we could expect, wedded as they were to salves, lint, and the cumbersome poultice dressings.

The character of the hospitals themselves is commented on to some extent by Dr. Tilton.[1]

[1] "I mention it not with a design to reflect on any man, that in the fatal year 1777, when the director-general had the entire direction of practice in our hospitals, as well as the whole disposal of the stores, he was interested in the increase of sickness, and the consequent increase of expense, so far, at least, as he would be profited by a greater quantity of money passing through his hands. . . . Having no written instructions as to the proportion of sick, or subjects proper for the general hospital, it is of great importance to attend carefully to such observations relative to this matter as we are able to collect. The scale of the hospitals seems to be different in different services. The French make greater hospital provisions than the English, and the English than the Germans. Yet the French lose more men of camp diseases than the English, and the English than the Germans; and, I may add, the Americans have outdone all their predecessors in the pomp and extravagance of their hospital arrangements, and have surpassed all other nations in the destruction and havoc thereby committed on their fellow-citizens. It would be shocking to humanity to relate the history of our general hospital in the years 1777 and 1778, when it swallowed up at least one-half of our army, owing to a fatal tendency in the system to throw all the sick of the army into the general hospital,

This occasion will not afford time to discuss the career of all the physicians and surgeon-generals and deputies of the

whence crowds infection, and consequent mortality, too affecting to mention. . . :

"The flying hospital, being only useful when the army is in the field, should be a temporary institution. In every service, except the American, it is considered as a branch of the general hospital, under the same common head, and managed by the same set of officers, so as to maintain a reciprocal and common interest. It is very different in our army, where a chief physician and all subordinate arrangements constitute a flying hospital of permanent institution, and, consequently, a great extravagance, and, creating a distinction of interests between the flying and general hospitals, might in worse hands than at present be attended with dangerous consequences; for the former may at pleasure, and without restraint, send all their sick to the latter, and crowd them, regardless of consequences. . . . The method he most approves is by a board of physicians or surgeons of the army (who are certainly the best judges), and observes that very mischievous consequences ensued to the British army when that salutary method, by some neglect, fell through, and the appointments were made *by the surgeons only*. . . . This board would be always at hand, and would have nothing to divert it from its proper duty. It would specially prevent any misunderstanding between officers of the line and the hospital, and bring them into that perfect concert and harmony most advantageous to the sick. . . .

"I know that in Britain a high degree of civilization and luxury have divided the practice of physic and surgery, and that, after the fashion of their country, the British are in some measure obliged to put these professions into different hands in their military hospitals. It is, however, very different in our country, where every medical character practises both professions; and it is found by experience, in our army, to be impracticable to separate these duties. Dr. Jones of New York, in his useful treatise published at the commencement of the war, has said enough to dissuade us from this error. . . .

"And from a regard to truth, I hope to be pardoned for the assertion, that the invidious distinction made, by the new arrangement between hospital physicians and *chief* hospital physicians, must be worse than useless as well as unprecedented. . . .

"The ignorance and irregularities of the men, in a new scene of life, subject them to numberless diseases. The sick flow in a regular current to the hospitals; these are crowded so as to produce infection, and mortality ensues too affecting to be described.

"Our revolutionary army exemplified this misfortune in a manner shocking to humanity. The flying camp of 1776 melted like snow in the field; dropped like rotten sheep on their straggling rout home, where they commu-

different departments. They numbered twenty-three in all to the close of the war.

nicated the camp infection to their friends and neighbors, of whom many died. . . . .

"After the battles of Brandywine, Red Bank, etc., a general hospital was established in the College of Princeton, where I was a prescribing surgeon. The sick and wounded flowing promiscuously without restraint into the hospital, it soon became infectious, and was attended with great mortality. I caught the jail fever myself, and narrowly escaped with my life. After a tedious illness I got leave to return home for the recovery of my health. The enemy occupying Philadelphia at that time, it became necessary for me to take a circuitous route to the State of Delaware through Bethlehem in Pennsylvania. At Bethlehem was another hospital, and I found it convenient to rest there a day or two. During my stay it was natural to inquire into the state of their hospital. The method I took was to propose a competition, not whose hospital had done the most good, but whose hospital had done the most mischief. I was requested to give an account of Princeton Hospital. I stated with all the exaggeration I could with truth, not only an affecting mortality among the sick and wounded soldiers, but that the orderly men, nurses, and other attendants in the hospital were liable to the infection. That I had myself narrowly escaped death, and that five other surgeons and mates had afterwards been seized. I was answered that the malignancy and mortality of Princeton Hospital bore no comparison with theirs. That at Bethlehem not an orderly man or nurse escaped, and but few of the surgeons. That one surgeon, Jas. Harrison, a fine young fellow, distinguished for his assiduity, had died. And to give me some idea of the mortality of their hospital, one of the surgeons asked me if I were acquainted with that fine volunteer regiment of Virginia, commanded, I think, by Col. Gibson? I answered I knew it only by reputation. He then went on to say that forty of that regiment had come to their hospital, and then asked me how many I supposed would ever join the regiment? I guessed a third or fourth part. He declared solemnly that not three would ever return, that one man had joined his regiment, that another was convalescent and might possibly recover, but that the only remaining one besides was in the last stage of the colliquative flux and must soon die. I was obliged to acknowledge the hospital at Bethlehem had been more fatal than at Princeton. . . . Many melancholy instances might be adduced of infection in the American encampment. I will mention one. In the year 1776, when the army was encamped in the State of New York, our raw and undisciplined condition at that time subjected the soldiers to great irregularity. Besides a great loss and want of clothing, the camp became especially filthy. All manner of excrementitious matter was scattered indiscriminately through the camp, insomuch that you were offended by a disagreeable smell almost everywhere within the lines. A putrid diarrhœa was the consequence. The camp disease, as it was called, became prover-

Their names are: Drs. John Bartlett, James Brown, Wm. Brown, Nathaniel Brownson, Wm. Burnett, Benj. Church, John Cochran, James Craik, Amri R. Cutter, Peter Fayssoux, Isaac Foster, Walter Jones, Adam Kuhn, Charles McKnight, John Morgan, David Oliphant, Jonathan Potts, Benjamin Rush, Wm. Shippen, Samuel Stringer, Malachi Treat, and Philip Turner.

Bartlett, John. Appointed by Congress April 11, 1777, to be physician and surgeon-general of the army in the northern department. There was a Dr. Bartlett at New-

bial. Many died, melting as it were and running off by the bowels. Medicine answered little or no purpose. A billet in the country was only to be relied upon. When the enemy moved up the East River, our army moved to White Plains, and left their infectious camp and the attendant diseases behind them. It was remarkable during this disorderly campaign, before our officers and men could be reduced to strict discipline and order, the army was always more healthy when in motion than in fixed camps. . . .

"It is impossible to account for the obstinacy and fatality of those bowel complaints which affected the soldiers, neither from the nature of the clime or soil, but from a poisonous infection. . . . I have no register or record from whence to prove the proportion of deaths in the American army, but have no hesitation in declaring it as my opinion that we lost not less than from ten to twenty of camp diseases for one by weapons of the enemy. . . .

"Tents, I should suppose, would be particularly proper in warm climates as well as in our warm summer seasons. They may be opened at pleasure so as to admit the most free current of air. It is much easier to pitch the number of tents requisite than to prepare houses. The number of tents may also be proportioned to the number of sick, so as to run no risk of crowding them. I have used common horseman's tents and long tents formed like the roof of an house prepared expressly for hospital purposes.

"But in cold climates and winter seasons some better protection than tents afford may be necessary. In such cases the best hospital I have ever contrived was upon the plan of an Indian hut. The fire was built in the midst of the ward, without any chimney, and the smoke circulating round about passed off through an opening about four inches wide in the ridge of the roof. The common surface of the earth served for the floor. The patients laid with their heads to the wall round about, and their feet were all turned to the fire. The wards were thus completely ventilated. The smoke contributed to combat infection without giving the least offence to the patients, for it always rose above their heads before it spread abroad in the ward, and more patients could be crowded with impunity in such wards than in any other I have seen tried. This was the expedient I employed in the hard winter of 1779–80, when the army was hutted near Morris Town, and I was well satisfied with the experiment."

buryport, who, on the 4th November, 1776, had charge of the sick belonging to the fleet. If this is not the same, I know of no other reference to him in the literature of the Revolution. In the reorganization of the medical corps, 1780, this name does not appear, and it is probable that he did not enter upon the duty, or he did not remain long in the service.

Brown, James, was appointed by Congress May 15, 1781, chief physician of the southern army. There was a surgeon of this name in Capt. James Keats's company of Minute Men that marched from Queen Anne's County, Maryland, February 3, 1776.

Brown, William, M.D., was the son of the Rev. Richard, and grandson of Dr. Gustavus Brown, Sr., of Rich Hills, near Port Tobacco, Md.; born, probably, in Haddingtonshire, Scotland, where his grandfather left an entailed estate. His education, both academical and professional, was obtained at the renowned University of Edinburgh, where he received his degree of M.D. in 1770. His thesis was "De Viribus Atmosphæræ." On returning to America, he settled to practise his profession in Alexandria, Va., where he soon rose to the first rank in his profession. He was a man of polished manners and high literary culture, and was intimately acquainted with Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and the leading men of the day. September 20, 1776, he had been elected assistant to Dr. Shippen. He had served as a regimental surgeon in Col. Woodford's command of Virginia troops. He was elected, upon the recommendation of Dr. Hugh Mercer, by the Provincial Congress, February 7, 1778, to be physician-general of the middle department, in the room of Dr. Rush. July 21, 1780, he resigned, and returned to practice. He married Miss Catharine Scott, of Kalorama, near Washington City, by whom he raised a numerous family. One of his sons, Gustavus Alexander, studied medicine, and practised a number of years in Alexandria. The subject of this notice was buried at Preston, the Alexander estate, in Fairfax County, near Alexandria.

Brownson, Nathaniel, a physician of Liberty County, Georgia, a statesman, and an early supporter of the rights of

his country. He was a graduate of Yale College in 1761. In 1775 he was a member of the Provincial Congress; was for some time a surgeon in the army; was the presiding officer of the Legislature of 1781, by which body he was chosen Governor of Georgia; served in the Revolutionary War; a surgeon in the Continental army; was a member of the Continental Congress 1776–78, and was speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives in 1788; was president of the Senate in 1789–91, and member of the Convention that formed the State Constitution.

Burnett, William, was the son of Ichabod Burnett, a distinguished physician of Elizabethtown, New Jersey. After graduating at Nassau Hall in 1749, he studied medicine with Dr. Staats, of New York, and had commenced practice in his parent State; but the trouble with the mother country coming, he relinquished a lucrative business, and entered actively into the political movements of the day. He was chairman of the Committee of Public Safety. In 1775 he was superintendent of a military hospital established on his own responsibility at Newark. In the winter of 1776 he was elected member of the Continental Congress. On the 11th October, 1777, he was appointed by Congress to be physician and surgeon-general of the army in the eastern department; he accordingly resigned his seat in Congress, and entered upon the arduous duty, which he continued to discharge till the close of the war, 1783. He dined with Gen. Arnold in the evening that Maj. André was arrested. At the close of the war, the doctor returned to his family, and devoted himself to his profession and agricultural pursuits. Soon after he was appointed presiding Judge of the Court of Common Pleas by the Legislature of New Jersey, and was also elected President of the State Medical Society. He was a polished classical scholar, and was esteemed as a gentleman and Christian. Died October 7, 1791. The epitaph upon his tombstone reads thus: "In all his public services he exhibited in the cause of his beloved country unshaken firmness, zeal, patriotism, and fidelity."

Cochran, John, M. D., was born in Chester Co., Pa., in 1730. His father, a farmer, came from the north of Ireland. He

never received a collegiate education, but at an early day began to study physic in the office of Dr. Thomson of Lancaster. In the French war, which began 1755, he served as a surgeon's mate in the hospital department. At the close of the war he settled in Albany, and married Gertrude Schuyler, the only sister of Gen. Schuyler. He soon removed to New Brunswick, New Jersey. On the recommendation of Washington he was appointed April 11, 1777, physician and surgeon-general in the Middle Department, and in 1781 Director-General of the hospitals in the United States. He was eminently distinguished as a practitioner of medicine and surgery. After peace he removed to New York, where Washington nominated him Commissioner of Loans. He died at Palestine, Montgomery Co., April 6, 1807.

Craik, James, M.D., was a native of Scotland, where he received his education for the medical service of the British army. He came to America with Gen. Braddock, and accompanied the youthful Washington in his expedition against the French and Indians in 1754, and returned in safety after the battle of the Meadows and the surrender of Fort Necessity. In 1755 he was a surgeon to Braddock's expedition through the wilderness, and dressed the wounds of the dying general on the 9th day of July, after his disastrous defeat at Pittsburg, Pa., and stood by the side of Washington while he read the funeral service. At the close of the French war he settled at Norfolk, Va., where he practised for a time with high repute. A few years later he removed to Winchester, Va., and subsequently to Port Tobacco, Md., where he was in 1767. When the Revolution began, Gen. Washington, who was his fast friend, appointed him to the medical department of the army, in which he rose to the first rank. On the 3d of March, 1781, he was elected by Congress to be chief physician and surgeon of the army. In 1798, when war was threatened with France, he was appointed physician-general to the army, a position which he occupied only a few years, returning to his home near Mt. Vernon. Through a long life he was the devoted and familiar friend of the immortal Washington, and had the melancholy satisfaction of being present and rendering all the aid he could

in that great man's last hours. Washington distinguished him in his will in these terms: "My compatriot in arms, my old and intimate friend." As a physician he was greatly distinguished by his skill and success, and his professional merits were highly and justly appreciated. Died at his residence in Fairfax Co., Feb. 6, 1814, aged 84 years.

Church, Benjamin, was the great-grandson of Col. Benjamin Church, who was distinguished in the Indian wars. Dr. Church was born at Newport, R. I., Aug. 24, 1734. He graduated at Harvard University in 1754, and studied medicine with Dr. Pynchon. He also studied in London, and after his return to Boston became eminent as a surgeon. He was a man of decided talent. As a skilful and dexterous operator in surgery he was inferior to none of his contemporaries in New England, and as a general practitioner he enjoyed a distinguished reputation. At the commencement of the Revolution he was appointed, Thursday, July 27, 1775, by Congress to be the first Director-General and Physician-in-Chief in the hospital department. For several years preceding he was a conspicuous and noted whig. Dr. Church delivered an oration in Boston after the massacre, which was fervid with impassioned denunciation of the outrages committed by the soldiery of Great Britain. The address was characteristic of the oratory of that day. He was selected by the Prov. Congress in 1775 to proceed to Philadelphia and represent the cause of the people of Massachusetts, and to request advice as to the course to pursue. This illustrates the great confidence that his associates reposed in his integrity and ability. After fulfilling this important duty, he was appointed by the Prov. Congress to receive and welcome the new commander-in-chief, Gen. Washington, on his arrival at Cambridge, a trust which he performed with much grace and dignity. The doctor enjoyed in society the highest position, both on account of his great ability as a surgeon and physician, and of his distinguished acquirements, affability, and scholarship.

Dr. Church was, in 1774, a most influential member of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress and Council of Safety.

In Sept. 1775, he indiscreetly, if not traitorously, wrote

a letter in cipher to Major Cain, then within the enemy's lines in Boston, which he attempted to convey to him by the co-operation of a woman. The letter was captured and brought to Gen. Washington, who had it deciphered and the woman arrested. At first she refused to disclose the author, but finally named Dr. Church. This and other suspicious circumstances caused him to be tried by court-martial, held at Cambridge, Oct. 3, 1775, of which General Washington was president. His plea was that it was an innocent device to deceive and draw from the enemy some information of benefit to the public. He was, however, convicted of holding criminal correspondence with the enemy, and imprisoned at Cambridge. Gen. Washington, in conveying the facts to Congress, began thus: "I have now a painful, though a necessary duty to perform respecting Dr. Church, the Director of the hospital." His defence before the court was considered as a specimen of brilliant talents and ingenuity. "Confirmed," said he, "I stand prepared for your honest searchings. The warmest bosom does not flame with a brighter zeal for the security, happiness, and liberty of America, than mine." So high was party zeal, and such the jealousy and prejudice of the day, that a torrent of indignation was at hand to sweep from the land every guilty and suspected character. He was convicted by the court-martial, expelled from the Provincial Congress, and remanded to prison. After remaining in prison for a year and a half, he was allowed to depart to the West Indies, but the vessel in which he sailed was lost at sea May 1, 1776. (*Thacher.*)

Cutter, Ammi Ruhamah, M.D., M.M.S.S., was born at Yarmouth, in Maine, in 1734. His father was a graduate of Cambridge in 1725, and was the first minister of Yarmouth, he was also one of the chaplains of a New England regiment at the siege of Louisburg in 1745. His mother's name was Bradbury. She was from Newport, in the county of Essex, and was a pious and well-educated woman. At the age of twelve years, Dr. Cutter was sent to be educated under the care of a clergyman at Cambridge. He entered Harvard College in 1748, and graduated in 1752. He commenced the study of medicine under the care of Dr. Clement

Jackson, an eminent physician in Portsmouth, in 1752, and immediately on being admitted to practice, was appointed surgeon of a body of Rangers, under the celebrated Robert Rodgers in the Indian war of 1755. In 1758, he was appointed surgeon in the New Hampshire troops in the expedition against Louisburg. While in this service he came near falling the victim of smallpox. On the 11th of April, 1777, Dr. Cutter was appointed physician general of the hospital in the eastern department. To accept this charge he relinquished a lucrative practice and the care of a large family of ten children. His appointment was dated at Philadelphia, April 15, 1777; he was stationed at Fishkill, where he rendered important service in remodelling the hospital department, which had been sadly neglected. In the beginning of 1778, he retired to Portsmouth and resumed his usual practice. The doctor was a decided whig. The only public office he held politically, was a membership in the N. H. Constitutional Convention. He received the honorary degree of M.D. from Harvard. He also was an honorary member of the Mass. Medical and Humane Society, and was long President of the N. H. Med. Soc. Dr. Cutter's intellectual powers were of a high order, with a retentive memory, an understanding which rarely erred in its decisions, and a will whose energy seldom failed of accomplishing its determinations. He died suddenly in the midst of his family on the 8th of Dec., 1819, aged 85. (*Thacher.*)

Fayssoux, Peter, Hon., M.D., a native of South Carolina, was one of the earliest graduates from that State at the Univ. of Edinburgh, graduating in 1769, his thesis being "De Tetano." At the breaking out of the Revolution, he espoused with zeal the cause of his country, and was one of the prominent characters in that period. On Saturday June 3, 1775, the Prov. Cong. of South Carolina *Resolved*, That, whenever our Continental or Provincial Council shall decree it necessary, we will go forth and be ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes to secure her freedom. And we will hold all those persons inimical to the liberties of the colonies who shall refuse to subscribe to this association." Dr. F. was appointed among others to receive the signatures of all the

inhabitants of Charleston, and report the names of all those who refused to sign (June 6, 1775). In a letter to Dr. Ramsay, he depicts in language of the most forcible character the suffering of the American soldiers of S. C. who were held in captivity by the British. On May 15, 1781, he was appointed chief physician of the hospital in the southern department. He was a member of the council of S. C. Dr. Fayssoux was one of the Presidents of the Med. Soc. of S. C. He was esteemed as a man of great professional merit, and occupied a high place in the hearts of his countrymen. (*Ramsay's Review of Medicine.*)

Fague or Forgue (Dr.), a Frenchman who settled in Fairfield in Conn. Gen. Charles Lee, in a letter to the President of Congress dated Feb. 22, 1776, recommending his appointment, speaks of him as follows: "He is a gentleman of ability, probity, and skill in his profession. He knows Canada very well, and is esteemed there. He speaks French and English with great fluency." In the Jour. of Cong., April 11, 1777, we find his appointment, under the name of Forgue, to be surgeon-general to the hospital in the northern department. It is probable that this is the same man, a typographical error having occurred. He may have died in the service. I find no further mention of his name.

Foster, Isaac, was a physician in high standing, and in large practice in the village of Charlestown, Mass., when the siege of Boston commenced. He immediately abandoned his practice and reported to the army at Cambridge, was appointed by Prov. Cong. of Mass. senior hospital surgeon, and assigned to the charge of the hospital at Cambridge. Upon the organization of the Continental army, he was retained as a surgeon and placed in charge of the general hospital in N. Y. City, and had been in service ever since, having gained an excellent reputation as an efficient officer.

Jones, Walter, M.D., a physician of brilliant talents and great ability, was born in Northampton Co., Va. After receiving his academic education and graduating at William and Mary's College, Va., in 1760, he adopted medicine as a profession, and repaired to the University at Edinburgh to prosecute his studies. There he was held in high esteem by

Cullen and other professors of the institution. He graduated in 1769. The subject of his thesis was "De Dysenteria." On his return to his native country, he settled to practice in Northumberland Co., Va., where he sustained through life the highest standing, both as a physician and a scholar. April 11, 1777, he was elected by Congress, physician-general to the hospital in the middle department. This position he held only two months, as he resigned on the 1st of July following. He was elected a representative in Congress, and served in 1797–99, and again in 1803–11. But the most of his life was devoted to the duties of his profession, of which he was a great ornament. "He was," says a distinguished gentleman, who, for some time enjoyed his acquaintance, "for the variety and extent of his learning, the originality and strength of his mind, the sagacity of his observations, and captivating powers of conversation, one of the most extraordinary men I have ever known. He seemed to possess instinctively, the faculty of discerning the hidden cause of disease, and applying with promptness and decision peculiar to himself the appropriate remedies." His son Walter was many years at the head of the bar in Washington, D. C. He died on his plantation in Northumberland Co., Va., Dec. 31, 1815.

Kuhn, Adam, M.D., was the son of Dr. Adam Simon Kuhn; born at Germantown, Pa., Nov. 1741, and died July 5, 1817, at the age of 76. He received a classical education, and studied medicine with his father, until the year 1761, when he sailed for Europe, and entered the University of Upsal, under the celebrated Linnæus; after studying there one year he matriculated at Edinburgh, whence he received his medical degree June 12, 1767; the subject of his thesis was "De Lavatione Frigida." On his return to Philadelphia the following year, he was appointed Professor of Materia Medica in the College of Philadelphia, and subsequently to the chair of Theory and Practice of Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania. He was on the Committee of Safety and also the Board of Examining Surgeons, and on July 8, 1776, he was appointed physician and director general of the hospital for the New Jersey troops.

McKnight, Chas. The son of Chas. McKnight, a native of Ireland, was born Oct. 10, 1750, in Cranberry, N. J. He graduated at Princeton in 1771, after which he began the study of medicine with Dr. Shippen at Philadelphia. But before he had entirely completed his studies, the Revolutionary war began, and he entered the army as a surgeon, where his abilities soon attracted the attention of the commander-in-chief, and procured his appointment as senior surgeon of the Flying Hospital of the middle department in April, 1777. Feb. 21, 1778, Congress elected him Assistant Surgeon-General for the hospital in the middle department in the room of Dr. Brown, promoted, and in 1780, he was elected chief hospital physician. In the discharge of the arduous duties of his positions, his talents and indefatigable zeal were equally conspicuous. At the conclusion of the war he removed to New York, and married Mrs. Litchfield, the only daughter of the Hon. John Scott. He delivered medical lectures to a numerous and attentive class on anatomy and surgery. Although eminent as a physician, he was specially distinguished as a practical surgeon. With one exception he was the most eminent of the day. The doctor was one of the earliest physicians in New York to use a carriage as a conveyance in his rounds to visit patients. His only publication was a report of a case of extra-uterine abdominal fœtus successfully removed by an operation, which appeared in the *London Medical Observations and Inquiries*, vol. iv. The preparation itself was found many years afterwards preserved in a glass jar lying on the ground in a cellar in New York. He continued actively to teach and practise until his forty-first year, when he was cut off by a pneumonic affection. He was Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in Columbia College, N. Y. The doctor died Nov. 16, 1791.

Morgan, John, M.D., F.R.S., was born in the city of Philadelphia 1735. He acquired the rudiments of his classical education at the Rev. Dr. Finley's Academy in Nottingham, and finished his studies in the College of Philadelphia, graduating in 1757, his degree being the first literary honor conferred by that institution. He then began the study of medicine with Dr. John Redman of Philadelphia. After

finishing his medical studies, he entered the service of his country as a surgeon and lieutenant in the provincial troops of Pennsylvania in the last war which Britain and America carried on against France. In 1760 he left the army and sailed for Europe with a view to prosecute his studies in medicine. He attended the lectures and dissections of the celebrated Wm. Hunter, and afterwards spent two years in attending the lectures of the Professors at Edinburgh University, where he graduated in 1763; his thesis was "De Confectione Puris." Here both of the Monros, Cullen, Rutherford, Whyth, and Hope were his masters. He afterwards visited Paris, Holland, and Italy. While in Paris he attended the lectures and dissections of Mr. Sue. While in Europe he made the acquaintance of Voltaire at Geneva, and of the celebrated Morgagni, at Padua, and others of the first medical and literary character. On his return to London he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society. He was a licentiate of the College of Physicians in London, and a member of the College of Physicians in Edinburgh. He returned to America loaded with literary honors, and was received with open arms by his fellow citizens. Immediately after his arrival he was appointed Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine, and was the originator of the design to connect a medical school with the College of Philadelphia. He was also an active member in the establishment of the American Philosophical Society. By the Continental Congress he was appointed (Oct. 17, 1775) Director General and Physician-in-Chief of the hospital in the American army, in the place of Dr. Church.

He immediately repaired to Cambridge, and by the direction of Washington commenced a new arrangement of the hospital department, and instituted examinations of the surgeons and mates of the hospital and army. By reason of unjust clamors he was dismissed from service Jan. 9, 1777. A committee of Congress afterwards investigated his case, and honorably acquitted him of all charges. He was elected an honorary member of the Massachusetts Medical Society. He wrote a number of works of importance and merit. The doctor died in Philadelphia Oct. 15, 1789, aged 54.

Oliphant, David, M.D., was a prominent physician of South Carolina. In Nov. 16, 1775, he was elected to the Council of Safety of Charleston, S. C. In the same year he was a member of the South Carolina Provincial Congress. He was also a member of the South Carolina General Assembly. He was chosen by Congress Director General of the hospitals in that State. In 1776 he was appointed to a judgeship.

Potts, Jonathan, M.D., was the descendant of a distinguished Pennsylvania family: he was born on the 31st Aug. 1747. In company with Dr. Benj. Rush, a friend and relation, he set out from Philadelphia on the way to the University of Edinburgh, to prosecute the study of medicine, having letters of introduction from Benjamin Franklin. He did not remain long, and on his return was married May 5th, 1767, at Reading, Pa., to Miss Grace Richardson. He then became a student in the Philadelphia Medical College, and in the summer of 1768, graduated as M. B. The subject of his thesis was "De Febribus Intermittentibus potissimum Tertianis."

This was the first medical commencement in America, and on this occasion he delivered the valedictory. The subject was selected by Franklin, and was "The advantage a medical student derives from previous liberal education in the other sciences, particularly Mathematics and Natural Philosophy." In 1771 he received the degree of M.D. from the same institution. He commenced the practice of his profession at Reading, Pa. In 1775 he was one of the Committee of Safety of Berks Co., Pa., and was active in arousing the patriotism of his townsmen. June 6, 1776, he was appointed by Congress as a surgeon for Canada and Lake George. On the 11th of April, 1777, he was elected Deputy Director General of the hospital in the northern department. Dr. Potts was a man of superior education and ability, affable, jovial, and of fine executive powers, and was very popular with the military and medical staff.

Rickman, William, was Physician and Director General of the hospital in Virginia. On June 15, 1776, Williamsburgh was chosen as headquarters of the Continental Hospital in

Virginia. It was decided by the medical committee, that the hospital in Virginia was entirely distinct from the general establishment of hospitals, and that Dr. R. was not affected by any changes made therein. He was afterwards Deputy Director General of the hospital in the southern department. During his administration he was charged with having neglected to take proper care of the Virginia and North Carolina troops at Alexandria, who were suffering from smallpox for want of inoculation. By order of Congress Dec. 20, 1777, he was suspended, and an investigation ordered, and he was summoned to appear before the medical committee of the house to answer charges. On March 7, 1778, the committee to whom the matter was referred reported to Congress that he was entirely innocent of the charges preferred against him. They recommended that the suspension should be taken off, and that he be ordered back to his post. Congress so ordered. He remained in this capacity until Oct. 1780, when he was left out in the new arrangement of the army pursuant to his request. (*Journ. of Cong.*, vols. ii. and iii.)

Rush, Benjamin, M.D., was born at Byberry, fourteen miles northeast of Philadelphia, Dec. 24, 1745. At an early age he was sent to the academy, conducted by his uncle, Dr. Finley, in Nottingham, Md., where he remained eight years. He graduated at Princeton in 1760, before he had attained the age of fifteen, and studied medicine with Drs. Shippen and John Redman, of Philadelphia. He then repaired to the University of Edinburgh in 1766, and graduated there in 1768. His thesis was "De Coctione Ciborum in Ventriculo." Returning to Philadelphia in 1769, after spending a year in the London and Paris hospitals, he was appointed to the chair of Chemistry in the College of Philadelphia, and, in 1791, Professor of the Institutes and Practice of Medicine and Clinical Practice. In 1776 he was a member of Congress, and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. April 11, 1777, he was elected by the Continental Congress Surgeon-General of the hospital in the middle department, and on July 1st, 1777, was elected Physician-General in the place of Dr. Jones. In 1787 he was a member

of the convention for adopting the Constitution of the United States; and during the last fourteen years of his life was treasurer of the United States Mint. He was connected with many literary and charitable institutions, and was one of the founders of Dickinson College at Carlisle, Pa. In 1811 the Emperor of Russia sent him a gold ring as a testimony of his appreciation of his medical character. Dr. Rush was one of the most distinguished physicians and medical writers our country has ever produced. His works are too well known to need mention here. They are characteristic of his great learning, keen perception, and clearness and precision of statement. His wife was Julia, the daughter of Richard Stockton. He died of pleurisy, after an illness of five days, April 19, 1813. Nine children survived him.

Shippen, William, Jr., son of Dr. Wm. Shippen, was born in Philadelphia in 1736, and died at Germantown, Pa., July 11, 1808, aged 72 years. Having graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1754, he spent the three following years in the study of medicine with his father; and, at the age of twenty-one, he sailed to Europe to complete his professional education. He remained in London some time, devoting special attention to anatomy and obstetrics, under the celebrated Hunters, William Hewson, and Sir John Pringle. But subsequently he went to Edinburgh, where he enjoyed the friendship of Cullen and the elder Monro. He graduated from the University in 1761, his thesis being "De Placenta cum Utero Nexu." He travelled in France after his graduation; and, returning to his native country in 1762, he commenced a course of private anatomical lectures in Philadelphia to a class of about twelve students. In 1765, the trustees of the College of Philadelphia, at the instance of Drs. Shippen and Morgan, organized a medical school in that institution, to which these two distinguished gentlemen were afterwards appointed to professorships. In July, 1776, he entered the medical department of the Continental army as chief physician for the flying camp, and was unanimously elected by the Provincial Congress April 11, 1777, Director General of all the hospitals in the army.

He was chosen, October 6, 1780, Director General of the Army Medical Department, but in June, 1781, in order to give his entire attention to his medical school in Philadelphia, he resigned his commission. The death of his only son, which occurred in 1798, so depressed his spirits, that after the sad event, he seldom lectured or took any interest in his school. He held, during life, several important official positions.

Stringer, Samuel, was Director General of the hospitals in the northern department of the Continental Army, during the early part of the war. He was a native of Maryland, and died at Albany, July 11, 1817, at the age of 83 years. He studied medicine with Dr. Bond, of Philadelphia; and in 1755, was commissioned by Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, an officer in the medical department of the British Army, during the French and Indian War. He served throughout these campaigns, mostly under General Abercrombie; and, at their close, settled at Albany, where he subsequently married. Upon the breaking out of the Revolutionary War he was elected, by the Provincial Congress, August 20, 1776, Director General of the hospital in the northern department, but was discharged from service January 9, 1777. He returned to Albany, where he practised medicine until his death.

Treat, Malachi, was Physician General of the hospital in the northern department of the American Army during the Revolution, and died in New York of yellow fever, contracted during the prevalence of an epidemic, while serving as health officer of the port. He was a distinguished practitioner in New York city, where he received a commission in the medical staff of the army from the Provincial Congress of his State, in the early part of the Revolutionary War. On the 11th of April, 1777, he was appointed by Continental Congress Physician General of the hospital in the northern department of the army, and on Oct. 6, 1780, was elected by Congress chief hospital physician. Upon the reorganization of the army he resumed practice in the city of New York, after the disbanding of the American troops.

Turner, Philip, Surgeon General of the eastern department of the army, was born at Norwich, Connecticut, in 1740, and died at the military station on York Island, in the spring of 1815, aged 75. He studied medicine with Dr. Elisha Tracey, of Norwich, and in 1759 he was appointed assistant surgeon of a provincial regiment stationed at Ticonderoga, commanded by General Amherst. He continued in the army until the peace of 1763. Upon the breaking out of the Revolutionary War he entered the American army, and was chief surgeon of the Conn. troops before Boston. On April 11, 1777, he was nominated and appointed by Congress Director General to superintend the general hospital; but on motion of reconsideration, the appointment was given to Dr. Shippen, Jr., of Philadelphia, and Dr. Turner was commissioned Surgeon General of the eastern department, which position he filled with great ability until the close of the war. Hostilities having ceased, he returned to his native town and resumed the practice of his profession with success. But in 1800, being unable to undergo the fatigues of an extensive practice on account of his advanced years, he removed to New York. Shortly after his removal to New York he was appointed surgeon in the United States Army, and was permanently stationed on York Island, and held his commission at the time of his death.

Had we time, I would consider it desirable to record the names of all surgeons and surgeons' mates, with the time of their appointment, and their assignment to duty. But considering the lateness of the hour and the purpose of the discourse, we must content ourselves with treating even an historical subject in a somewhat general way. I may add that the supply of competent medical officers throughout the war proved ample to the demand. The careful student of this part of our history will discover that any difficulty which existed with the medical directors and surgeons, was not so much their want of education or professional attainments, as the novelty of their situation. I think it will be a surprise to you, as it was to me, to find that of the physicians serving in the Revolutionary War, about one hundred are

known to have been graduates from the academical departments either of our own or of foreign colleges.[1]

The number of physicans who took part in the political administration of affairs in the different colonies, and in the Continental Congress too, is much larger than is generally supposed. The list of names presents an array of talent which is exceedingly gratifying to the profession of the present day, and must continue to be a pleasing reflection to

[1] Medical officers in the Revolution who are known to have received collegiate degrees, either honorary or in regular course.

Harvard College Graduates.

Ames, Nathaniel, 1761.
Ames, Seth, 1764.
Aspinwall, Wm., 1764.
Bartlett, Josiah, 1801, M.D.
Bayles, Wm., 1760.
Brooks, John, 1816, Hon., M.D.
Childs, Timothy, 1811, Hon., M.D.
Church, Benj., 1754.
Cobb, David, 1766.
Crosby, Ebenezer, 1777.
Cutter, Ammi Ruhamah, M.B., 1752, M.D., 1792.
Emerson, Samuel, Hon., 1785.
Eustis, Wm., LL.D., 1772.
Fisher, Joshua, M.D., 1766.
Green, Ezra, 1765.
Hayward, Lemuel, 1768.
Hunt, Ebenezer, 1764.
Jantis, Charles, 1766.
Kittredge, Thomas, 1811.
Sawyer, Micajah, M.D., 1786.
Sergeant, Erastus, 1811, Hon., M.D.
Thacher, James, Hon., M.A., 1810, M.D.
Vinal, Wm., 1771.
Welsh, Thomas, 1772.

Princeton College Graduates.

Alexander, Nathaniel, 1776, A.B.
Archer, John, 1761, A.B.
Bainbridge, Absalom, 1762.
Beatty, John, 1769, A.B.
Brevard, Ephraim, 1768, A.B.
Burnett, Wm., 1749, A.B.
Campfield, Jabez, 1759, A.B.
Cowell, David, 1763, A.B.
Henderson, Thomas, 1761, A.B.
Hodge, Hugh, 1773, A.B.
McKnight, Charles, 1771, A.B.
Ramsay, David, 1765, A.B.
Rodgers, John R. B., 1775, A.B.
Rush, Benj., 1760, A.B.
Scudder, Nathaniel, 1751, A.B.
Shippen, Wm., Jr., 1754, A.B.
Smith, Isaac, 1755, A.B.
Stockton, Ebenezer, 1780, A.B.
Wells, Henry, 1757, A.B.
Whitwell, Samuel, 1774, A.B.
Wilson, Louis F., 1773, A.B.

Yale College Graduates.

Hall, Lyman, 1747.
Munson, Aneas, 1775.
Wolcott, Oliver, 1747.

Brown University.

Bowen, Pardon, 1775.
Browne, Solomon, 1773.
Binney, Barnabas, 1774.

Besides the colleges named, there were graduates among the surgeons from Columbia College, Dartmouth, Rutgers, William and Mary, and the College of Philadelphia.

medical men in the future. They were not only ardent patriots, but many of them, from their talents and familiarity with public affairs, and their great influence with the masses, were most valuable members of legislative bodies and councils of the State. I will name only a few of the more prominent physicians in each of the thirteen original States, and it is quite possible, in this hastily prepared sketch, some of the most deserving may, by accident, be omitted.

Massachusetts.—To this class belongs Dr. Joseph Warren, of Boston. He was preëminent for his devotion to the cause of liberty and for the influence he exercised over the actions of others. He was, at the time of his premature and lamented death, perhaps the most powerful and popular advocate of the rights of the colonies. The only two names that at all equalled or excelled his in the confidence of the people, were Samuel Adams and John Hancock. Ranking close after these in ability and popularity was Dr. Benj. Church, whose failure as a leader was lamentable from every point of view. He possessed rare ability, and was most ardent in the patriot cause from an early day; and his want of success seems to me to have been caused more by indiscretion than by premeditated or actual disaffection to the principles involved in the struggle. Deserving of mention in this connection were Drs. David Jones, William Baylies, Samuel Holten, David Cobb, Wm. Whiting, Moses Gunn, and John Taylor. Dr. John Brooks served with distinction as a commander through the war, and was subsequently elected Governor of the commonwealth.

Dr. Wm. Eustis served as a surgeon through the war; was for years a successful practitioner in Boston, and was Secretary of War from 1809 to 1812, and afterwards Governor of the State, and died in 1824, during his term of office.

New Hampshire.—This is the only State which had two physicians in Congress, both of whom signed the Declaration of Independence. We congratulate ourselves in having that noble and patriotic physician, Joshua Bartlett, the first in the order of the roll-call to vote for the Declaration of Independence. He served in the legislature continuously from 1765 to 1770, and for a time as Lieutenant-Colonel of

the Seventh Regiment. Was a delegate to Congress in 1775. He was afterwards Governor of the State, Justice of the Supreme Court, and first President of the State Medical Society.

Dr. Matthew Thornton, a practitioner of Londonderry, and a most ardent patriot of the Revolution, had been a surgeon in the expedition against Lewisburg in 1745, served as a member of the Provincial Congress in 1776, and was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Throughout his life he was a man of great influence and integrity. His monument bears the simple inscription "An honest man."

There were also in the councils of the State, as well as in active professional service, Drs. Ebenezer Thompson, John Giddings, Joshua Hall Jackson, Thomas Bartlett, and Joshua Brackett, the latter a minister of the Gospel as well as a physician—a benefactor to Harvard College, and also one of the founders of the New Hampshire Medical Society.

Rhode Island had some able medical men in her civil councils; among whom we will name, Dr. Jonathan Arnold, who was a good public speaker, and well calculated in popular and deliberate bodies to inspire others with the patriotic principles which so animated himself. These powers he exercised to the advantage of the cause, both in the Colonial Assembly and in the Continental Congress. Dr. Wm. Bradford, a descendant of Governor Bradford, was a physician and patriot of the Revolutionary times. He was, on account of his discretion and ability, selected, Oct. 7, 1775, on the part of the inhabitants of Bristol, when the place was being bombarded by Captain Wallace, to entreat him to spare the town. He was a leading member of the committee of Correspondence, and took a decided stand in the controversy with Great Britain. He was a United States Senator from 1793 to 1797. Dr. Isaac Senter was also a leading physician and an influential citizen. Although comparatively young at the commencement of the war, he served with distinction and rose to eminence in his profession, and was an honor to his State.

Connecticut had a number of well-educated and accomplished physicians, who, through their statesmanlike know-

ledge of public affairs, early became prominent in the discussion of all the questions which were factors in ushering in the Revolution. Among the very first of these was Dr. Oliver Wolcott. He served in Congress from 1775 to 1778, and was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. From 1780 to 1781 he held a commission of the grade of Major-General in the army. He was elected to many offices of responsibility in the State—among others, that of governor, and he filled them all with ability and to the honor and satisfaction of the commonwealth.

Dr. John Dickinson, son of Rev. Moses Dickinson, of Norwich, Conn., having received a good academic and professional education, settled to practice in Wallingford, but removed to Middletown. He was an ardent patriot, was frequently sent to the legislature during the period of the Revolution, and took an active part in all questions of a public character. After the war he was appointed Judge to the District Court.

Dr. Asaph Coleman served as a surgeon in the Revolutionary Army, and was several times a representative of the people of the General Assembly.

New York perhaps had fewer physicians who took interest in political affairs than any of the other colonies of an equal population. The State, however, furnished a number of medical men of ability, who served as surgeons in the army.

The following physicians, James Brewer, Ebenezer White, Daniel Menema, and Moses Younglove, were influential citizens, and zealous patriots, and advocates of the colonial rights during the war.

New Jersey, through the influence of her college, which for half a century had been extending the principles of a higher education, was thus enabled at the outset of the struggle to present a large body of well-educated men to take a conspicuous part in public affairs. We, therefore, find in this State quite a number of physicians occupying prominent positions, civil and military.

Dr. John Beatty, a native of Pennsylvania, but a citizen of New Jersey, was a physician and a patriot of marked

ability. He took an active part in the public discussion and the administration of public affairs prior to the outbreak of the Revolution, and during the war served as a surgeon in the army, and was taken prisoner at the capture of Fort Washington. He was a member of the old Continental, and also of the United States Congress. Subsequently, he was a member of the State Legislature, and for a time Secretary of State, besides having held many other offices of trust.

Dr. William Burnett was another of New Jersey's honored patriot physicians, a sketch of whom is given among the surgeon-generals and physicians-in-chief of the army. Drs. Ebenezer Elmer, Bernard Budd, Thomas Ewing, and many others of equal merit should be named.

Pennsylvania.—From the earliest settlement of this colony her medical men were noted for their extensive acquirements, and were frequently called upon to take part in the administration of public affairs, and often held civil offices.

Dr. Benj. Rush stands pre-eminent among those of the period which has this evening engaged our attention. His reputation as a teacher and a patriot became national, extending far beyond colonial limits. Indeed, his fame, like that of Warren, of Mass., and Ramsay, of S. C., belongs to America. His character has so often been eulogized that I shall not dwell further upon it here, except to express for him my unqualified admiration.

Dr. Wm. Shippen, Sr., was a member of the Provincial Congress in 1778. His son William was eminent as a practitioner, and noted as the first systematic teacher of medicine in America. He held the position of chief physician to the Continental hospitals during a most important period in our struggle for independence. He was a man of ability, and discharged every trust with fidelity.

Dr. Wm. Irwine or Irvine was an accomplished physician, in full practice, residing at Carlisle, Pa. He was a member of the State Convention that met in Philadelphia on the 15th July, 1774. He was a man of extensive information, and was often called upon for his views in the discussion of the public welfare of the State. Preferring to exercise his

talents in the army as a commander rather than in the hospital department, he was commissioned colonel June 10, 1776. He subsequently rose to the rank of brigadier general, and throughout the war gave great satisfaction. We might extend this list of Pennsylvania physicians to a dozen or more names, but we will add only those of Drs. John Morgan, Jonathan Potts, John Wilkins, and James Hutchinson.

Delaware.—Although this little State had a number of eminent medical men, the colony or counties which now form the territory of Delaware were at this period by many deemed districts or counties of Pennsylvania. This rich agricultural section, adjacent to Philadelphia, had many statesmen of culture and fortune, so that her medical men were not so often called upon to enter the political arena as States more remote and less prosperous.

Dr. James Tilton, who, next to Dr. Thacher, has left us the best memoirs of professional matters transpiring during the war for independence, is justly entitled to the highest meed of praise for valuable services to his country. His professional career reflects honor upon the State.

Drs. John McKinly and Edward Miller held influential positions in the State, and were in active service during the war.

Maryland.—Throughout all parts of this State medical men attended primary meetings, and took a leading part in organizing a public sentiment opposed to the pretensions of Great Britain. In the formation of committees of correspondence and councils of safety physicians were particularly conspicuous. I will only mention Drs. John Archer, of Harford Co., Richard Brooks, of Prince George Co., John Dorsey, of Frederick Co., Ephraim Howard, of Anne Arundel Co., Wm. Kilty, C. A. Warfield, and Gustavus Brown, Henry Stevenson, and many others, equally deserving, who took part.

Virginia, the mother of States and of statesmen, had in all her councils a few highly accomplished medical men. Theodoric Bland, an eminent physician, was a member of the first Congress of Philadelphia and of the old Congress

from 1780 to 1783. Early in the war he raised a company of cavalry, which he commanded with honor to himself and advantage to the cause. Dr. Arthur Lee, the diplomatist, was, for a number of years prior to the war, a successful practitioner of medicine at Williamsburg. He was a member of the Virginia Assembly in 1781, and a member of Congress in 1782 to 1785.

Dr. Hugh Mercer, general and patriot, was a physician. He resided at Mercersburgh, Pa., in 1755, and laid out that town. He had great admiration for General Washington; and commanded a company in the Braddock expedition against the French and Indians at Pittsburg, where he was wounded. He removed to Virginia and settled at Fredericksburg, and there entered upon the practice of his profession. On the breaking out of the war he warmly espoused the cause of the colonies, and raised three regiments for their defence. He was a man of extensive acquirements, whose intellectual powers and culture made him equal to any position either in the councils of State or a command on the field of battle. In leading the attack on the British at the battle of Princeton, he was mortally wounded, Jan. 3, 1777. His death was deeply deplored by his personal friend, General Washington.

Dr. Walter Jones was an active patriot and a man of influence in Virginia. He was, for a time, physician in chief in the middle department, and also served in Congress after the war. Dr. James McClurg was long a counsellor of the State, and a member of the committee which adopted the Constitution of the United States.

North Carolina.—Dr. Nathaniel Alexander was a graduate of Princeton, and a physician of eminence in Mecklenburg; an ardent patriot during the Revolution, serving as a surgeon part of the time, and subsequently, as Governor of the State.

Dr. Ephraim Brevard was a graduate of Princeton in 1768, who, having studied medicine, located to practice in Charlotte, North Carolina. He was a man of calm judgment, extensive acquaintance, and a warm patriot. To him belongs the distinction of having embodied, in a series of resolutions in May, 1775, at a public meeting held in Mecklenburg, May 20, 1775, the same principles which have been

so remarkable in the Declaration of Independence, passed[1] by Congress a year afterwards. He was a surgeon in the

[1] As these resolutions are rarely seen, and not generally accessible, I deem them of sufficient interest to give them in a note.

Declaration of Independence.

"1. *Resolved*, That whoever directly or indirectly abets, or, in any way, form, or manner, countenances the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights, as claimed by *Great Britain*, is an enemy to this country, to *America*, and to the inherent and unalienable rights of man.

"2. *Resolved*, That we, the citizens of Mecklenburg County, do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us to the mother country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the *British crown*, and abjure all political connection, contract, or association with that nation, who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties, and inhumanly shed the innocent blood of *American* patriots at *Lexington*.

"3. *Resolved*, That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people; are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing association, under the control of no power other than that of our God, and the general government of the Congress; to the maintenance of which independence, we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual co-operation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor.

"4. *Resolved*, That as we now acknowledge the existence and control of no law or legal officer, civil or military, within this county, we do hereby ordain and adopt, as a rule of life, all, each and every of our former laws; wherein, nevertheless, the crown of *Great Britain* never can be considered as holding rights, privileges, immunities, or authority therein.

"5. *Resolved*, That it is also further decreed, that all, each, and every military officer in this county is hereby reinstated to his former command and authority, he acting conformably to these regulations. And that every member present of this delegation shall henceforth be a civil officer, viz.: a justice of the peace in the character of a "committee man," to issue process, hear, and determine all matters of controversy, according to said adopted laws, and to preserve peace and union and harmony in said county, and to use every exertion to spread the love of country and fire of freedom throughout *America*, until a more general and organized government be established in this province." (*American Archives*, fourth series, vol. ii. p. 857.)

Mecklenburg, N. C., May 20, 1775, delegates present and signing.

Col. Thomas Polk.	John Phifer.	James Harris.
Ephraim Brevard.	Henry Downs.	William Kennon.
John Ford.	Ezra Alexander.	William Graham.
Richard Barry.	Zachaus Wilson, Sen.	John Queary.
Abraham Alexander.	Hezekiah Alexander.	Robert Irwin.
J. McKnitt Alexander.	Waightstill Avery.	John Flenniken.
Adam Alexander.	Benjamin Patton.	David Reese.
Charles Alexander.	Matthew McClure.	Richard Harris, Sen.
ezakiah J. Balch.	Neil Morrison.	

war, and taken prisoner at the capture of Charleston in 1780. His health failed during his confinement, and he shortly after died.

Dr. Hugh Williamson, though a native of Pennsylvania, resided at Edenton; was a patriot and man of letters, serving as a surgeon to the militia of North Carolina, and attended the wounded after the battle of Camden. Was a delegate to Congress in 1781 to 1782. He wrote the history of North Carolina in two volumes, and other works of moment. Dr. Robert Williams was an ardent and influential citizen and patriot. In political conventions he was prominent, and served as a surgeon to the militia. He was a member of the convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States.

South Carolina.—Here we must first name Dr. David Ramsay. He used, with effect, his pen in the interest of the colony, anterior to the Revolutionary War, and was, throughout the struggle that ensued, a consistent and uncompromising friend of American liberty.

On the raising of an armed force by the colonies, he entered the military service as a surgeon. When the city of Charleston, S. C., was captured by the British, in May, 1780, the doctor was taken prisoner. His health suffered severely from confinement; and, on his exchange, he was sent to Congress in 1782, where he served with distinguished ability until 1786.

Dr. David Oliphant, already mentioned as one of the Director Generals of the hospital in the southern department, was a man of social and political influence. He was a member of the State Assembly, and subsequently appointed judge of the courts.

Georgia.—Dr. Lyman Hall was a successful practitioner, and among the foremost of the citizens in securing the cooperation of Georgia with the other colonies. He was chosen to the first Congress, at Philadelphia, by the parish of St. John's, but did not attend; was, however, sent as a delegate from the whole State in March, 1775, and was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. The invasion of Georgia by the British, in 1780, required him to return

to render service to the cause there. His property was all confiscated by the British while in possession. In 1783 he was elected Governor of the State; and was, in all relations of life, a most useful and exemplary member of society.

Dr. Noble Wimberly Jones was one of the early settlers in Georgia, and became imbued with a spirit of resistance to British taxation. He was chosen delegate to the first Continental Congress, and again in 1781. He was often consulted by his colleagues on important public occasions, and was a member of the convention that amended the State constitution.

Dr. Nathaniel Brownson, of Liberty Co., Ga., was not only a good physician, but an enlightened statesman, a true patriot, and a powerful advocate of the rights of the colonies. He was a member of the Provincial Convention of 1775, and of the Continental Congress in 1776. He was for a time a surgeon in the army, and was also speaker of the State Legislature in 1781, and was by this body chosen governor of Georgia.

That the government has been most liberal to the soldiers, through whose courage and fortitude American liberty was won, is evident from historical records. Immense sums in treasure and vast tracts of land have been awarded to them as bounty and pension. The surgeons and surgeons' mates have been participants of this generosity.[1]

[1] Surgeons and surgeons' mates who have received pension from the United States for services in the Revolutionary War. (See U. S. Pension Rolls.)

Adams, Joseph, Mass.
Ahl, John Peter, Md.
Allen, David, Con.
Allyn, Jonathan, Vt.
Austin, Caleb, Con.
Averill, Jonathan, N. Y.
Bacheller, Theophilus, Mass.
Ballentine, Ebenezer, N. Y.
Bannell, Amos, Con.
Barnes, Simeon, Con.
Barret, Jeremiah, Con.
Bartlett, Josiah, Mass.
Beardsley, Gersham, N. Y.
Beatty, Reading, Pa.
Bicknell, Josiah, Con.
Billings, Benjamin, Mass.
Blakely, Zealous, Con.
Blish, Ezra, Con.
Bowen, Beauaiah, Con.
Bowen, Josepb, R. I.
Boyd, Benjamin, Md.
Breckett, Daniel, Mass.
Briggs, Richard, Mass.
Brown, Ezekiel, Me.
Brunson, Asa, Con.
Burrett, Anthony, Con.
Cheever, Abijah, Mass.
Childs, Timothy, Mass.
Clark, Hezekiah, N. Y.
Clark, Joseph, Mass.
Cogswell, William, N. H.
Curtis, Samuel, N. H.

The broad and varied abilities and high culture of the medical men of America were not at all appreciated until they

Cushing, John, N. H.
Cutting, John Brown, D. C.
Drowne, Solomon, R. I.
Eager, George, N. Y.
Edwards, Joshua, Pa.
Ehrenzeller, Jacob, Pa.
Elmer, Ebenezer, N. J.
Elmer, Moses, N. J.
Endicott, Samuel, N. H.
Fairbanks, Cyrus, Mass.
Fairbank, George, Mass.
Fanning, John, Con.
Fisk, Joseph, Mass.
Gardner, John, N. Y.
Glover, Samuel K., Mass.
Graham, Isaac G., N. Y.
Green, Ezra, N. H.
Gross, Ebenezer H., Me.
Guest, James, Pa.
Hale, Mordecai, N. Y.
Hall, John, Me.
Hall, Mordecai, N. Y.
Hall, Percival, Mass.
Hall, William, Md.
Hamilton, James, Pa.
Hart, John, Mass.
Hatch, Josiah, Mass.
Hilton, Isaac, Me.
Hitchcock, Gad, Mass.
Holbrook, Amos, N. Y.
Holbrook, Silas, N. Y.
Hurd, Isaac, Mass.
Hyde, Phineas, Con.
Jewett, Gibbons, Con.
Jones, David, Me.
Jones, James, Del.
Knight, Jonathan, Con.
Lewis, Joseph, Vt.
Maclean, William, N. C.
Magaw, William, Pa.
Mann, James, N. Y.
Mann, Oliver, Me.
Martin, Ennalls, Md.
Martin, John R., Ohio.
Mather, Samuel, Con.
McCoskey, William, Mich.
Meade, William, N. Y.
Mory, Samuel, Mass.
Mullican, Isaac, Mass.
Munson, Eneas, Con.
Pelham, William, Ohio.
Pindall, Richard, Ky.
Porter, Benj. J., Me.
Prescott, Joseph, N. Y.
Rainey, Stephen, Con.
Read, Wm., S. C.
Richardson, Abijah, Mass.
Roberts, John, Ky.
Rodgers, John R. B., N. Y.
Root, Josiah, Conn.
Rose, Prosper, Con.
Rosseter, Timothy W., Ga.
Russell, Philip M., Pa.
Sackett, John, N. Y.
Sawyer, William, Me.
Schuyler, Nicholas, N. Y.
Scudder, John A., Ind.
Selden, William C., Va.
Sibley, John, La.
Skinner, Elisha, Me.
Smith, Dan., Vt.
Stockton, Benj. B., N. Y.
Taylor, Christopher, Md.
Thacher, James, Mass.
Thaxter, Gridley, Mass.
Thomas, John, N. Y.
Thompson, Thaddeus, N. Y.
Tilton, James, Del.
Townsand, David, Mass.
Tracy, Philemon, Con.
Trezvant, John, Va.
Tunison, Garrett, N. J.
Turner, Peter, R. I.
Walcott, Thomas, Mass.
Waterous, Josiah, N. Y.
Waters, Wilson, Md.
Watrous, John R., Con.
Welch, Thomas, Mass.
White, Henry, N. Y.
Wild, Jonathan, Mass.
Wilkinson, John, R. I.
Willard, Moses, N. Y.
Williams, Robert, N. C.
Wing, Moses, Me.
Wingate, John, Me.
Wright, Philemon, N. H.
Young, John, Mass.

were, in their patriotism, brought in close relation with the recognized leading or dominating minds of that period. Having called attention to the very considerable number of accomplished physicians who assisted in the councils of the different States in securing American independence, I propose to glance at the number of physicians who, in the ardor of their patriotism, sought and obtained commands in the field, and thus served their country in perhaps a more active but scarcely more arduous or dangerous sphere of duty. I am able to present in a note the names of thirty-six physicians who held commands of various grades; a careful study would, no doubt, extend the list.[1]

One word of explanation, as to the political divisions and colonial entities at the time of the revolution, is deemed proper.

When we speak of the New England States, we usually include the existing six; but we should recollect that at the time of the revolution Vermont and Maine did not exist as separate and distinct colonies. It is true the settlement of Maine was coeval with that at Jamestown, Va., in 1607; thus antedating the landing of the Pilgrims in Massachusetts. Notwithstanding this, the government of Maine was

[1] Names of medical men who held military commands in the Revolution, with their rank in the army.

Archer, Jno., Md., Command Mil. Co.
Bartlett, Josiah, Lieut.-Col. 7th Mass.
Beatty, Jno., Lieut.-Col. Pa. Line.
Bland, Theodoric, Col. Va. Troops.
Brickett, Jos., Brig.-Gen.
Brooks, John, Col. Mass.
Burk, Thos., Capt. at Bat. Brandywine.
Campfield, Jabez, N. J., Quartermast.
Childs, Timothy, Mass., Capt.
Cobb, David, Maj.-Gen. Militia.
Day, Elkanah, Capt.
Dearborn, Henry, Maj.-Gen.
Ely, John, Major.
Ewing, Thos., of N. J., Maj.
Flagg, John, Mass., Lieut.-Col.
Gardner, M., R. I., General.
Hand, Edward, Brig.-Gen.
Irvine, Wm., Pa., Brig.-Gen.
McDonough, Thos., Maj.
McHenry, James, Gen.
Mercer, Hugh, Va., Brig.-Gen.
Nicholas, Moses, Brig.-Gen.
Peabody, Nathan, Ad. State Militia.
Perkins, Abijah, 2d Lieut.
Prescott, Oliver, Brig.-Gen.
Reid, ——, Capt.
Rickman, W., Va., Col. in Cont. Army.
Sergeant, Erastus, Maj. 7th Mass.
St. Clair, Arthur, Maj.-Gen.
Smith, Isaac, N. Y., Col.
Smith, Nathan, Lieut , Vt. Militia.
Thomas, John, Maj.-Gen.
White, John, of N. C., Adjutant.
Wilkinson, James, Gen.
Wolcot, Oliver, Brig.-Gen.
Warren, Joseph, General.

in 1652 transferred to, and specifically included within the bounds and jurisdiction of the colony of Massachusetts, and so remained until admitted as a separate State into the American Union in 1820.

Vermont had three claimants for her territory, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and New York. In the settlement of this question she paid New York thirty thousand dollars ($30,000). In 1777 she adopted a bill of rights and assumed independence under the name of "New Connecticut," and was admitted a State of the Union in 1791. This will explain why so few, if any, surgeons are accredited to Maine or Vermont; they both furnished brave generals and heroic soldiers, but they were credited to Massachusetts, New York, or New Hampshire.

Kentucky was then a part of Virginia, and Tennessee a part of North Carolina. The territory now known as the State of Tennessee was in 1784 declared in convention to be an independent State, under the name of the "State of Franklin." It maintained an independent organization until 1788, when jurisdiction was resumed over it by North Carolina, which continued until its admittance into the Union in 1796 under the name of the State of Tennessee.

In 1776 the colonies formed a confederation, and, to enable Congress to distribute equally the fiscal burthen among them, it became necessary to ascertain the population of each. It is not understood that an actual enumeration was had for the especial purpose in any one of the colonies, but the population here given for 1775 is simply approximate, the actual number of slaves not being included. This estimate of population was acquiesced in by all the colonies, and served as a basis for raising troops, and for defraying the expenses throughout the war. We take this table from Pitken's Statistics, p. 583:—

New Hampshire	102,000
Massachusetts	352,000
Rhode Island	58,000
Connecticut	202,000
New York	238,000
New Jersey	138,000
Pennsylvania	341,000
Delaware	37,000
Maryland	147,000
Virginia	300,000
North Carolina	181,000
South Carolina	93,000
Georgia	27,000
White	2,243,000
Colored	500,000
Total	2,743,000

The federal convention of 1787 which framed the constitution, although recognizing the fact that the whole population of the States was greater than given in this table, still used it as a basis in proportioning representation to States, as it had served through the war for the levying of troops.[1]

The Census taken by the authority of the United States in 1790, which gives the total population, white and colored, as 3,929,214, showed that the original estimate was nearly correct, and the increase probable and quite uniform in the different States. I have, in the Annals of Medical Progress, p. 105, estimated the whole number of physicians residing in the Colonies in 1776, at 3500.

That the medical profession, by virtue of the superior education of its members, held high social and influential positions, and took an honorable and active part in the events that ushered in the Revolution, as well as in the armed struggle that led to the glorious termination and successful establishment of a free government in America, is a fact so evident as to require no argument. The names of physicians are everywhere conspicuous among the patriots and efficient

[1] As the figures are not often met with from which to form an estimate of the strength of the Continental army, and the proportion of troops raised by the several colonies, I have deemed the subject in this connection of

promoters of the cause of liberty. There was scarcely an office, civil or military, that at some time a physician did

sufficient interest to give the following table, which admirably presents these facts. (*New Hampshire Historical Collections*, vol. i. p. 236.)

An Accurate Statement of the Troops (Continental and Militia) furnished by the respective States during the Revolutionary War, from 1775 to 1783, inclusive.

	1775	1776.		1777.		1778.		1779.		1780.		1781.		1782.	1783.	Irregular militia (estimated) for the war.*
	Cont.	Cont.	Mil.	Cont.	Mil.	Cont.	Mil.	Cont.	Mil.	Cont.	Mil.	Cont.	Mil.	Cont.	Cont.	
New Hampshire	2824	3,019	....	1,172	1,111	1,283	..	1,004	222	1,017	760	700	..	744	733	4,200
Massachusetts..	16,444	13,372	4,000	7,816	2,775	7,010	1927	6,287	1451	4,553	3436	3,732	1566	4,423	4,370	9,500
Rhode Island...	1193	798	1102	548	....	630	2426	507	756	915	..	464	..	481	372	1,500
Connecticut....	4507	6,390	5737	4,563	....	4,010	..	3,544	..	3,133	554	2,420	1501	1,732	1,740	3,000
New York.....	2075	3,629	1715	1,903	921	2,194	..	2,236	..	2,179	668	1,728	..	1,198	1,169	8,750
New Jersey....	....	3,193	5893	1,408	....	1,586	..	1,276	..	1,105	162	823	..	660	675	2,500
Pennsylvania ..	400	5,519	4876	4,983	2,481	3,681	..	3,476	..	3,337	..	1,346	..	1,265	1,508	2,000
Delaware.....	....	609	145	229	....	349	..	317	..	325	231	89	..	164	285	1,000
Maryland.....	....	637	2,592	2,030	1,535	3,307	..	2,849	..	2,065	..	770	..	1,280	974	4,000
Virginia.....	....	6,181	....	5,744	1,289	5,236	..	3,973	..	2,486	..	1,215	4331	1,204	629	21,760
North Carolina.	....	1,134	....	1,281	....	1,257	..	1,214	..	....	..	545	..	1,105	697	12,000
South Carolina.	....	2,069	....	1,650	....	1,650	..	909	..	....	..	....	..	....	139	24,850
Georgia.....	....	531	....	1,423	....	673	..	87	..	....	..	....	..	....	145	9,600
	27,443	46,901	26,060	34,750	10,112	32,899	4353	27,699	2429	21,115	5811	13,832	7398	14,256	13,076	104,660

Total: Continental, 231,971. Militia, 56,163. Irregular militia estimated, 104,660.

* The right hand column of the above table is taken from Peter Force's National Calendar for 1834. This irregular force (104,660) were called out by local authorities, or volunteered to repel foraging parties, to guard prisoners conveyed from one place to another when distributed in different

not fill—no danger which they did not participate in, and no duty or responsibility entrusted to them that they did not discharge with credit to the country, and with honor to the profession.

Independence achieved!—How natural it was that after the friendships formed among the officers during the heroic struggle of nearly eight years to found a nation, they should seek to give expression and perpetuation to this noble sentiment of personal regard. For this purpose was founded the Society of the Cincinnati. Medical men were eligible; and many of those in the service at the close of the war became members.

It was expected by the officers of the Continental army that societies would form in all the States, but from jealousy or an apprehension that the organization had a political significance, it was decried and violently opposed in certain quarters. At least three States, Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey, preserve active organizations. I have collected the names of all the medical men who were original members in seven States, which I give in a note. For the

parts of the country, and more particularly to repel sudden incursions of Indians on the Western frontiers. A large portion of the men not in service were enrolled, and, in specified localities, arranged by companies or battalions into three or four classes, and required, in exposed places near the British or Indians, to render services of ten to fifteen days each class—sometimes twenty to thirty days.

British Forces in United States at different periods during the Revolutionary War.

1777, June 3	33,756	1781, May 1	33,374
1778, Aug. 5	22,554	1781, Aug. 1, Lord Cornwallis' army in Virginia	9,433
1779, Feb. 15	38,569		
1780, May 1	33,020	1781, Sept. 1	42,075
1780, Dec. 1	33,766	1782, June 1	40,469

As a matter of some interest in this connection, I give the following estimate of the number of Americans who lost their lives in the war of the Revolution:—

Dr Thacher, in his Military Journal, p. 344, says: "It has been estimated that the loss of lives in the various armies of the United States, during the war, is not less than seventy thousand. The numbers who died on board of the horrid prison-ships of the enemy cannot be calculated. It is, however, confidently asserted that no less than eleven thousand of our brave soldiers died on board the one called the *Jersey Prison-Ship*, only!"

States of Delaware, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Virginia, I have been unable to find the records or lists of members. The motives for the formation of the Society of the Cincinnati seem so proper that I have concluded to give them as set forth by the society.[1]

[1] "It having pleased the Supreme Governor of the Universe, in the dispensation of human affairs, to cause the separation of the Colonies of North America from the dominion of Great Britain, and, after a bloody conflict of eight years, to establish them free, independent, and sovereign States, connected by alliance, founded on reciprocal advantages, with some of the greatest princes and powers of the earth.

"To perpetuate, therefore, as well the remembrance of the vast event as the mutual friendships which have been formed under the pressure of common danger, and in many instances cemented by the blood of the parties, the officers of the American army do hereby, in the most solemn manner, associate, constitute, and combine themselves into one society of friends, to endure so long as they shall endure, or any of their eldest male posterity, and, in failure thereof, the collateral branches who may be judged worthy of becoming its supporters and members.

"The officers of the American army, having generally been taken from the citizens of America, possess high veneration for the character of that illustrious Roman, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, and, being resolved to follow his example by returning to their citizenship, they think they may with propriety denominate themselves the Society of the Cincinnati." (*Thacher's Military Journal*, p. 317.)

Medical officers of the Revolutionary Army who were original members of the Society of the Cincinnati, in the several States.

Connecticut.

Beardsley, Ebenezer, Surgeon.
Coleman, Noah, Surgeon's Mate.
Hosmer, Timothy, Surgeon's Mate.
Mather, Timothy, Surgeon.
Munson, Aneas, Jr., Surgeon's Mate.
Noyes, John, Surgeon.
Rose, John, Surgeon.
Simpson, John, Surgeon.
Skinner, Thomas, Surgeon.
Starr, Justus, Surgeon's Mate.
Watrous, John R., Surgeon.

Maryland.

Craik, James, Md., Physician and Surg.
Denwood, Levin, Md., Surgeon.
Elbert, John L., Md., Surgeon's Mate.
Harrison, Elisha, Md., Surgeon's Mate.
Hayne, Ezekiel, Md., Surgeon.
Jenifer, Daniel, Jr., Md., Surg. Hosp.
Keene, Samuel F., Md., Surg.'s Mate.
Kilty, William, Md., Surgeon.
Knood, Samuel Y., Md., Surg.'s Mate.
Manis, James, Md., Surgeon.
Marshall, T., Md., Surgeon.
Morrow, David, Md., Surgeon.
Morrow, Samuel, Md., Surgeon.
Pindell, R., Md., Surgeon.
Warfield, Walter, Md., Surgeon.
Wood, Gerard, Md., Surgeon's Mate.

Massachusetts.

Adams, Henry, Mass., Surgeon.
Balentine, Eben., Mass., Surg.'s Mate.
Crane, John, Mass., Surgeon.
Duffield, John, Mass., Surgeon.

The experience of the war was of immense advantage to the medical profession of America. The merits of the medi-

Eustis, William, Mass., Surgeon.
Finley, James B., Mass., Surgeon.
Finley, Joseph, Mass., Surgeon.
Fish, Joseph, Mass., Surgeon.
Goodwin, F. L. B., Mass., Surg.'s Mate.
Hart, John, Mass., Surgeon.
Homans, John, Mass., Surgeon.
Laughton, Wm., Mass., Surg.'s Mate.
Leavenworth, Nat., Mass., Surg.'s Mate.
Morgan, Benj., Mass., Surgeon's Mate.
Porter, Benj Jones, Mass., Surg.'s Mate.
Richardson, Abijah, Mass., Surgeon.
Shute, Daniel, Mass., Surgeon.
Thacher, James, Mass., Surgeon.
Townsend, David, Mass., Surgeon.
Whitwelbe, Samuel, Mass., Surgeon.
Woodward, Samuel, Mass., Surg.'s Mate.

New Jersey.

Appleton, Abraham, Surgeon's Mate.
Barnett, William, Surgeon.
Beatty, John, Surgeon and Major.
Burnell, Wm., Surgeon.
Burnett, Wm., Surgeon-General.
Campbell, George, Hospital Surgeon.
Campfield, Jabez, Surgeon.
Dunham, Lewis, Surg. and Col. in Mili.
Elmer, Ebenezer, Surg. and Brig.-Gen.
Elmer, Moses, Surgeon's Mate.
Harris, Jacob, Surgeon's Mate.
Holmes, James, Surgeon.
Howell, Lewis, Surgeon.
Loring, Ephraim, Surgeon's Mate.
Otto, Bodo, Surgeon.
Reed, Thomas, Surgeon's Mate.
Riker, John B., Surgeon.
Ross, Alexander, Surgeon.
Stockton, Ebenezer, Surgeon.
Vacher, John Francis, Surgeon.

New York.

Brown, Joseph, N. Y., Surgeon.
Cochran, John, N. Y., Surg. and Director Hosp.
Craigie, And., N. Y., Surg.-Gen. Hosp.
Crosby, Ebenezer, N. Y., Surgeon Washington's Life Guards.
Elliott, John, N. Y., Surgeon's Mate.
Graham, Stephen, N. Y., Surg.'s Mate.
Hale, Mordecai, N. Y., Surgeon's Mate.
Johnson, Robert, N. Y., Phys.-General Hosp.
Ledyard, Isaac, N. Y., Surgeon's Mate.
McKnight, Charles, N. Y., Surgeon.
Menema, Daniel, N. Y., Surgeon.
Prior, Abner, N. Y., Surgeon's Mate.
Rogers, John R. B., N. Y., Surgeon.
Sweet, Caleb, N. Y., Surgeon.
Tillotson, Thomas, N. Y., Phys. and Surg.-Gen.
Vacher, John F., N. Y., Surgeon.
Van Wagner, Garret, N. Y., Surgeon.

Pennsylvania.

Adams, Wm., Pa., Surgeon.
Allison, R., Pa., Surgeon's Mate.
Beatty, Reading, Pa., Surgeon.
Binney, Barnabas, Pa., Hosp. Surgeon.
Bond, Thomas, Pa., Surgeon.
Caldwell, Andrew, Pa., Surgeon.
Cathcart, Wm., Pa., Surgeon.
Davidson, James, Pa., Surgeon.
De Florat, Jean Augustus, Pa., Surgeon's Mate.
Hunter, George, Pa., Surgeon's Mate.
Leudlie, Andrew, Pa., Surgeon.
McCalla, Thomas M., Pa., Surgeon.
McDowell, John, Pa., Surgeon.
McClosky, Samuel A., Pa., Surgeon.
Magaw, Wm., Pa., Surgeon.
Martin, Hugh, Pa., Surgeon.
Maus, Matthew, Pa., Surgeon.
Peres, Peter, Pa., Surgeon
Rogers, John R. B., Pa., Surgeon. (This name also appears in N. Y.)
St. Clair, Arthur, Brigadier General.
Stevenson, George, Pa., Hosp. Surgeon's Mate.

South Carolina.

Blyth, Joseph, S. C., Regt. Surgeon.
Fayssoux, Peter, S. C., Hosp. Surgeon.
Finley, James E. B., S. C., Regt. Surg.
Flagg, Henry C., S. C., Regt. Surgeon.

cal men and the importance of the science to the State, lifted the profession out of obscurity to a position of conspicuous honor and usefulness.

It is now conceded by the world that American independence, although purchased at the cost of great suffering, much blood, and immense treasures, has proved in the years that are passed an unqualified blessing to mankind, and will, we believe, continue to be so for centuries to come. American statesmanship too has elevated the standard of human rights throughout the world. The claims of humanity are everywhere more regarded by rulers, and the rights of individuals better protected. The voice of the world to-day, more than in any period of the past, demands that laws must be humanizing in their effect, and administered with equal justice to all.

I will close my already too extended paper with as complete a list of the names of the medical men who aided in achieving American independence, as I have had the means of compiling. I shall not fatigue you with reading this list of nearly twelve hundred names, which includes not only those of surgeons and physicians of the army, but also of the medical men who gave their services to the cause in other positions. This list is not offered as complete, but approximate. Our government, I regret to say, does not possess among its archives a complete roster of the soldiers of the Revolution, and it is probable a perfect one of the Continental army does not exist anywhere. That which is here presented of the surgeons is the result of much careful research amongst Revolutionary literature, but which I have by no means exhausted. The list is, of course, subject to additions and corrections. Some names may be duplicated from the

Lockman, John, S.C., Hosp. Surg. Mate.
McCalla, Thos. H., S. C., Regt. Surg.
Neufville, Wm., S. C., Regt. Surgeon.
Oliphant, David, S. C., Surgeon Director Gen. S. Army.
Perry, Benj. L , S. C., Regt. Surgeon.
Ramsay, Joseph H., S. C., Hosp. Surgeon's Mate.
Read, William, S. C., Hosp. Surgeon.
Smith, Robert, S. C., Hosp. Surgeon's Mate and Chaplain.
Sunn, Frederick, S. C., Regt. Surgeon.
Stevens, Wm. S., S. C., Hosp. Surgeon's Mate.
Tucker, Thos. T., S. C., Hosp. Surgeon.
Wharry, Robert, S. C., Regt. Surgeon's Mate.
Witherspoon, John, S. C., Hosp. Surg.

wonderful and inexplicable variation in the spelling, both of first and last names, from their being found as serving in different States and different divisions of the army, and a few may have been admitted on insufficient evidence of service, or from hasty compilation, that are not entitled, even by the liberal construction I have adopted, to the distinction of medical men of the revolution.

You will, I am sure, join me in the hope, that, when in the lapse of time the United States shall reach her second centennial of independence, our people may be found as free, prosperous, and happy as at present—that the Alumni Association of Jefferson Medical College may be in a flourishing condition—and our Alma Mater then, as now, may occupy the front rank of institutions for instruction in medicine in the world.

Gentlemen, I thank you for your patient and respectful attention.

A LIST OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS

WHO TOOK PART IN THE STRUGGLE FOR AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY, GIVING STATE AND SERVICE.

Adams, Caleb Greenleaf, N. Y , Surg.
Adams, David, Conn., Surg.
Adams, Elijah, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Adams, Henry, Mass., Surg.
Adams, Joseph, Mass., Surg.
Adams, Samuel, Mass., Surg.
Adams, Samuel, Me., Surg.
Adams, William, Pa , Surg.
Ahl, John Peter, Md., Surg. Mate.
Aldenbruch, Daniel, Pa., Surg.
Alexander, Archibald, Va., Surg.
Alexander, Geo. D., Va., Surg.
Alexander, James R., Md , Surg. Mate.
Alexander, Joseph M., N. C., Memb. Conv. 1774.
Alexander, Nath., N. C., Surg. Mate.
Allen, David, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Allen, David, N. H., Surg. Mate.
Allen, Moses, Md., Committee of Observation.
Allison, Benj., Pa., Surg.
Allison, Francis, Pa., Surg Genl. Hosp.
Allison, R., Pa., Surg. Mate.
Allyn, Jonathan, Vt., Surg. Mate.
Ames, Nathaniel, Mass., Surg.
Ames, Seth, Mass., Surg.
Andrews, John, N. J., Surg. Mate.
Andrews, Thomas, Md., Committee of Safety.
Annin, Wm., Md., Asst. Surg.
Appleton, Abraham, N. J., Surg. Mate.
Appletwhaite, John, Surg. Navy.
Archer, John, Md., command of Company.
Armstrong, James, N. Y., Surg. Genl. Hosp.
Arnold, Jonathan, R. I., Hosp. Surg.
Aspinwall, Wm., Mass., Surg.
Atwater, David, Conn., Surg.
Aubury, * * *, N. H., furnished medicines.
Austin, Caleb, N. Y., Surg. Mate.
Averill, Jonathan, Surg. Brig "Resistance."
Avert, J., N. J., Surg.
Axon, Saml. J., S. C., Surg. Mate.
Bacon, Jacob, Mass , Surg. Mate.
Bailey, Dr. * * *, Mass., Committee of Safety.
Bainbridge, Absalom, N. J., proffered services 1776
Baird, Absalom, Pa., Surg.
Baker, Amos, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Baker, Wm., Md., Convention.
Baldwin, Cornelius, N J., Surg.
Balentine, Ebenezer, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Ball, Silas, Mass., Surg.
Ball, Stephen, N. J., Surg. Mate.
Ball, Stephen, Mass., attended soldiers.
Ballentine, Eben., Mass., Surg. Mate.
Bangs, Isaac, Surg. Mate Navy.
Banks, James, Va., Surg. Mate Navy.
Bannell, Amos, Conn , Surg. Mate.
Barber, Thomas, N J., Surg.
Bard, Samuel, N. Y., Exam. Surg.
Barker, Abner, N. H., Surg.
Barnes, Simeon, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Barnett, Oliver, N. J., Surg.
Barnett, Wm. M., N. J., Surg.
Barret, Jeremiah, Conn., Surg.
Bartlett, Daniel, Mass., Surg.
Bartlett, John, R. I., Surg.
Bartlett, Josiah, N. H., Surg. Mate.
Bartlett, Philip, Va., Surg.
Bartlett, Thomas, N. H., Prov. Cong.
Bass, Robert, Pa., procured medicines.
Batchelder, Joseph, Mass., Prov. Cong.
Baylies, Wm , Mass., Surg.
Beadle, * * *, Surg.
Beans, Wm., Md., Committee of Observation.
Beardsley, Ebenezer, Conn., Surg.
Beardsley, Gershorn, Conn., Surg.
Beatty, John, Pa., Surg. and Col.
Beatty, Reading, Pa., Surg.
Beaumont, H., N. J., Surg.
Beecher, Elisha, Pa., Surg.
Bensell, Charles, Pa., Com. of Corr.

Benzell, Charles, Jr., Pa., attended sick soldiers.
Betts, Thaddeus, Conn., Assembly.
Bicknell, Josiah, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Billings, Benjamin, Mass., Surg.
Binney, Barnabas, Pa., Hosp. Surg.
Bird, Jonathan, Conn., Surg.
Bird, Seth, Conn., Surg. and Med. Examiner.
Bishop, Smith, Md., attended Capt. Watkins' company.
Blakely, Zealous, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Blanchard, Samuel, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Bland, Theodoric, Va., Gen. and M. C.
Blish, Ezra, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Bloomfield, Moses, N. J., Surg. Prov. Cong.
Blyth, Joseph, N. C., Reg't Surg.
Boardman, Stephen, N. H., Prov. Cong.
Bogart, Nicholas, R. I., Surg.
Bond, Hugh, N. C., Surg.
Bond, Thomas, Pa., Exam. Surg.
Bond, Thomas, Jr., Pa , Surg. Mate.
Bordley, Wm., Md., Committee of Observation.
Bourk, Thomas, Md , Capt. of Militia
Bowen, Beauaiah, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Bowen, Joseph, R. I., Surg. Mate.
Bowen, Pardon.
Bowie, * * * Pa., Asst. Surg. Hosp.
Boyd, Benj., Md., Surg. Mate.
Boyd, Hugh, N. C. Surg.
Boyd, John James, Surg. Schooner "Gen. Putnam."
Boyd, Robert, Pa., Surg.
Boyde, John, Md., Conv. and Committee of Observation.
Brackett, Joshua, N. H., Admiralty patriot and judge.
Bradford, Wm., R. I., Committee of Safety.
Bramfield, * * *, S. C., Surg. to Marion.
Breed, Nathaniel, N. H., Prov. Cong.
Brevard, Ephraim, N. C., Surg. Author of Mecklenburg Dec. Indp.
Brewer, Chauncey, Mass , Prov. Cong.
Brewer, James.
Brickett, James, Mass., Surg. and Lieut.-Col.
Brickett, Daniel, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Briggs, Richard, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Brigham, Origen, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Brinkerman, Valentine, Surg. Mate Navy.
Briscoe, John Hanson, Md., Surg.
Britain, John, Va., Surg. Mate Navy.
Brockenborough, * * *, Va., Surg.
Brodie, Ludovick, Va., Surg.
Brohon, James, Md., employed by Council Safety.
Bronson, Isaac, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Brooks, John, Mass , Lieut.-Col.
Brooks, Laurence, N. H., Surg. on Ship Bon Homme.
Brooke, Richard, Md., Conv.
Brooks, Samuel, N. H., Prov. Cong.
Brown, Dr. * * * Md., Surg.
Brown, Benj., N. H., Prov. Cong.
Brown, Danl., Mass , Surg. Mate.
Brown, Danl., Va., Surg. 14 Regt.
Brown, Ezekiel, Mass., Surg.
Brown, James, Md., Surg.
Brown, Joseph, N. Y., Surg.
Brown, Joseph, Va , Surg.
Brown, Joseph, Pa., Surg.
Brown, Stephen, Mass , service Prov. troops
Brown, Wm., Va., Surg.
Brown, Wm , Pa., Surg. Mate.
Browne, Dr. * * *, Md., attended soldiers.
Brownfield, Robt., N. C., Surg. Mate.
Brownley, John, Va., Surg. Mate.
Brownson, Nathaniel, S. C., Surg. and Dep. Prov.
Brunson, Asa, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Bryant, Wm., N. J., Surg
Buchanan, James, Pa., Surg.
Buck, Henry, Pa., attended soldiers.
Buck, James, Pa., Surg. Mate.
Budd, * * * N. Y., Surg.
Budd, Barnabas, N. J., Surg.
Budd, Bernard, N. J., Surg.
Budd, George, Md., Surg. Ship Defence.
Budd, John, S. C., Surg.
Bull, Thomas, N. C., Surg. Mate.
Bullfinch, Thomas, Mass., petitioned to establish a hospital, Boston.
Burke, Thomas, N. C., Prov. Cong.
Burnap, Nathan, Mass., Surg.
Burnell, Wm., N. J., Surg.
Burnett, Wm., N. J., Phys. and Surg.-Genl.
Burnett, Wm., Jr., N. J., Hosp. Surg.
Burrell, Charles, Pa , service to Council Safety.
Burrett, Anthony, Conn., Surg.
Cadwallader, Thomas, Pa., Surg.
Caldwell, Andrew, Pa., Surg. Mate in Hosp.
Calvert, Jonathan, Va , Surg. Mate.
Camington, Elias.
Campbell, Alexander, Mass., Prov. Cong.
Campbell, Geo. W., N. J., Hosp. Surg.
Campbell, Tasquar, N. C., Surg.
Campfield, Jabez, N. J , Surg.

Carey, Dr., N. Y., Mustermaster.
Carling, Dr., Mass., furnished supplies.
Carmichael, John F., Pa., Surg Mate.
Carrington, Elias, Va., Exam. Surg
Carter, James, Va., House and Hosp.
Carter, Thomas, Va., Surg.
Carter, Wm. Sr., Va., Surg.
Caryl, John, Va., Surg. Asst.
Cathcart, Wm., Pa., Surg.
Catlin, Abiel, Conn., Surg.
Chace, John, R. I., Surg. Mate.
Chadwick, Edmund, N. H., Surg. Mate.
Chalkers, Isaac, Conn., Surg. Mate
Chalmers, Lional, S. C., attended prisoners.
Chapin, John, Va., Navy.
Chaplin, Benj., Va , Surg.
Charlton, John, N. Y., Com. of Obsv.
Chase, John, R I., Surg. Mate.
Chase, Joshua, N. H , Surg. Mate Navy.
Chase, Josiah, Pa., Surg. Mate.
Chase, Solomon, N. H., rendered service to soldiers.
Cheeney, Pennel, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Cheeseman or Chisman, Thomas, Va., Surg. Mate Navy.
Cheever, Abijah, Mass., Surg. Navy.
Chester, Isaac, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Child, Timothy, Mass., Surg.
Christie, Thomas, Va., Surg.
Church, Benj., Mass., First Director-Genl. and Phys. in Chief of the Hosp.
Clark, Hezekiah, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Clark, John, Mass., Exam. Surg.
Clark, Joseph, Mass , Surg.
Clarkson, Gerardus, Pa., attended sick by Council Safety.
Clayton, Joshua, Del., Prov. Conv. 1776.
Cleaveland, Parker, Mass., Surg.
Clements, Mace, Va., Surg.
Clinton, Charles, N. Y., Prov. Conv.
Coale, Saml., Md., furnished saltpetre.
Coats, John, Mass., Surg.
Coates, John, Pa., Captain.
Cobb, David, Mass., Surg Mate.
Cochran, John, N. J., Chief Phys. and Surg. Army.
Coffin, Nathaniel, Maine, Patriot.
Coggswell, James, Mass., Surg.
Coggswell, Mason F., Conn., Surg. Mate.
Coggswell, Wm., N. H., Surg.
Cole, Walter King, Va , Surg. Navy.
Colhoon, John, Pa., Council of Safety
Coleman, Asaph., Conn., Surg.
Colman, Noah, N. H., Surg. Col. Weber's Regt.
Conant, Dr. * * *, Mass., Surg.
Condict, John, N. J., Surg.
Condit, John, N. J., Surg. Mate.
Cook, James, Surg. Navy.
Cook, John, N. H., Surg. State Troops.
Cook, Nathaniel, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Cooke, Samuel, N. Y., Surg.
Cooke, Stephen, Va., Surg
Cooley, Samuel, N. C., Surg.
Cooper, Samuel, N. C., Surg. Mate.
Corbet, John, Mass., Prov. Cong.
Cornelius, Elias, R. I., Surg. Mate Line.
Coskey, A. M., Surg.
Coskey, Wm., Surg. Mate.
Courts, Richard Henly, Md., Surg. Mate.
Coventry, John, Pa., Hosp. Mate.
Cowell, David, paid for services by Congress.
Cowell, John, Pa., Hosp. Surg.
Cox, John, Pa., Maj. Phil. Militia.
Craddock, Thos., Md , Balt. Committee Safety.
Craig, Dr. * * *, Md., took care of Md. Militia.
Craigie, Andrew, Mass., Apothecary to Colony.
Craik, James, Va., Phys. Gen. to Army.
Crane, John, Mass., Surg.
Crane, John, S. C., Apothecary.
Crane, Joseph, N. Y., Surg.
Crane, Jos., N. Y., Prov. Cong Surg.
Craven, Dr., N. J., Surg.
Cregier, John, N Y., Surg.
Crocker, John, Mass., Surg.
Crocker, John, Jr., Mass., Surg.
Crosby, Ebenezer, N. Y., Surg.
Crosby, Samuel, Mass., Surg. Col. Ward's Regt.
Crossman, Dr., Mass., kept account of Indian affairs for Government.
Cummins, Robert, N. J., Surg. Mate.
Currie, Wm., Pa., Surg. furnished medicines.
Curtis, Benj , N. Y., Surg.
Curtiss, Samuel, N. H., Surg.
Cushing, John, N. H., Surg Mate Navy.
Cushing, Lemuel, Mass., Surg.
Cutter, A. R., Mass , Surg.
Cutting, John Brown, Del., Apothecary.
Daggett, Ebenezer, Mass., Prov. Cong.
Dakin, Amos, N. H., House of Reps.
Daling, Timothy, Mass., Surg.
Daly, James, Surg. Navy.
Darcy, John, Pa., Surg. Mate.
Dashiell, Wm., Md., Surg. Mate.
Davidson, James, Pa., Surg.
Davies, John, Pa., Surg.
Davies, Joseph, Pa., Surg.
Davis, John, Pa., Surg.
Davis, John, N. C., Surg.

Davis, Joseph, Va., Surg.
Davis, Samuel, Pa., Hosp. Surg. Mate.
Day, Elkanah, N. Y., Capt. and Memb. Committee of Safety.
Day, Isaac, Conn., Surg.
Dayton, David, N. Y., Prov. Cong.
Dayton, Jonathan, S. C., services to prisoners.
Dearborn, Henry, N. H., Maj. Gen.
Dearborn, Levi, N. H., Prov. Cong.
De Benneville, Daniel, Va., Surg.
De Bevier, * * *, France, Surg. Mate
DeFlorat, Jean Augustus, Pa., Surg. Mate.
Degraw, Walter, N. J., Convention.
Delahowe, Dr., S. C., attended wounded soldiers.
Delaney, Sharp, Pa., rendered service.
De Lavergne, Benj , N. Y., Prov. Cong.
Denwood, Levin, Md., Surg.
Detrick, Michael, Pa., Surg. Mate.
De Witt, Benj , N. Y., Prov. Cong.
Dexter, Wm., Mass., Surg. Mate.
Dickenson, John, Conn., Exam. Surg. Conn. Assem.
Dickinson, Dr., Surg. Mate Navy.
Dickinson, Nathaniel, Vt., Surg.
Diggs, Joseph, Md., Com. of Obsv.
Dinsmore, Wm., Mass., Prov. Cong.
Dixon, Anthony, Va., Surg.
Dixon, Anthony F., Va., Surg.
Dixon or Nixon, Anthony Tucker, Va., Surg.
Dodson, Robert, Va., Surg. Mate Navy.
Donaldson, Dr., Mass., killed by the British.
Donning, Richard, Md., Surg. Mate.
Dorris, Wm. B., Tenn., Surg.
Dorsey, John, N. J , Surg. Mate.
Dorsey, John, Md., Surg.
Dorsey, Nathan, Md., Surg. Mate Ship "Defence."
Douglas, John, Pa., Surg.
Downer, Abraham, N. H., proffered services.
Downer, Avery, Conn., Surg.
Downer, Eliphalet, Mass., Surg.
Draper, George, Va., Surg.
Draper, George, N. J., Surg. Mate.
Drown or Drowne, Solomon, R. I., Surg.
Du Barry, Wm., Pa., Surg. Mate.
Duff, Dr. Newport, Del., Surg. of the "Duc de Lauzen."
Duff, Edward, Va., Surg.
Duffield, Benj., Pa., attended pest-house.
Duffield, John, Pa., Surg. Mate Navy.
Duffield, John, Mass., Surg.
Duffield, Samuel, Pa., Surg. Navy.
Dunham, Lewis F., N. J., Surg.
Dunham, Lewis, Surg. Mate Navy.
Dunham, Obadiah, N. H., Genl. Conven.
Dunlap, James, Pa , Surg. Navy.
Dunsmore, Wm , Mass., Surg. Prov. Cong.
Durant, Edward, Mass , Surg.
Durham, Abijah, N. H , Gen. Conven.
Dusenbury, Wm., N. Y., applicant for a Surgeoncy.
Dwight, Dr., Mass., Prov. Cong.
Dyar, Benj., Conn., furn'sh medicines.
Dyer, Jared, R I , Surg.
Eager, Geo., N. Y., Surg.
Eaker, Joseph, Pa., attended soldiers.
Easton, Jonathan, R. I , attended a sick soldier.
Edminston, Samuel, Pa., second Surg. Genl. Hosp.
Edwards, Enoch, N. J., Surg. Com. of Obsv.
Edwards, Joshua, Conn., Surg. Mate Navy.
Edwards, Joshua, Pa., Surg.
Egbert, Jacob V , Ga., Surg. Mate.
Ehrenzeller, Jacob, Pa., Surg.
Elbert, John L., Md., Surg. Mate.
Elderkin, Joshua, Conn., employed by Committee of Safety.
Eliott, Benj., S. C., Surg. Mate.
Ellicott, * * *, Conn , Surg.
Elliot, Dr., Mass., consulted as to mortality, Boston.
Elliott, John, N. Y., Surg. Mate.
Ellis, Benj., Conn., Surg.
Elmer, Ebenezer, N. J., Surg.
Elmer, Moses, N. J., Surg.
Ely, Benj., N. Y., subscriber to N. Y. Assoc.
Ely, Elisha, Conn , Surg. Mate.
Ely, John, Conn., Surg. and Maj.
Emerson, Samuel, Mass., Surg.
Endicott, John, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Endicott, Samuel, N. H., Surg.
English, James, N. J., Surg. Mate.
Ervin, David, N. J., Surg.
Eustis, Wm., Mass., Surg., Governor, Sec. of War, etc.
Evans, George, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Ewen, David, N. J., Surg. Mate.
Ewing, Thomas, N. J., Surg. and Maj.
Fague, Dr., Conn., Surg.-Gen.
Fairbanks, George, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Fallon, James, Surg. Navy.
Fanning, John, Conn., Surg.
Farrar, Tield, S. C., Surg. Prov. Cong.
Farrish, Robert, Va., Surg. Mate.
Fay, Jonas, Vt., Council Safety.

Fayssoux, Peter, S. C., Chief Phys. Hosp. S. Dept.
Fenton, Joseph, Pa., Surg.
Fergus, James, N. C., Surg.
Ferguson, Robert, Va., Surg. Mate.
Ferguson, Saml., S. C., Surg.
Feron, J., France, Surg. Major.
Field, Samuel, Conn., Conn. Assembly.
Finley, Dr. * * *, Md., recommended for Surgeoncy.
Finley, James E. B , S. C., Regt. Surg.
Finley, James B., Mass., Surg.
Finley, Joseph, Mass., Surg.
Finley, Samuel, Mass., Surg.
Fisher, Adam, Md., Council of Safety.
Fisher, Joshua, Mass., Surg. Navy.
Fisk, Ebenezer, N. H., atten. wounded soldiers.
Fisk, Joseph, Mass., Surg.
Fiske, Caleb, R. I , Surg.
Fitch, Aseal, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Flagg, Henry Collins, S. C., Surg and Dept. Apoth. Genl. in the South.
Flagg, John, Mass., Lieut.-Col. of Militia.
Foot, Nathan, N. H., protested against retreat from Onion R.
Forgue, Francis, Conn., Surg.
Forman, Wm., N. Y., Surg.
Fosdick, Thomas, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Foster, Abiel, N. H., Genl. Assembly.
Foster, Isaac, Mass., Direct.-Gen. of Hosp. in E. Dept.
Foushsee or Faushee, Wm., Va.
Freeland, James, Mass., Surg.
Freeman, Melancthon, N. J., Surg. in Militia.
Freeman, Nathaniel, Mass., Brig.-Gen. Militia.
Fridges, Harris Clary, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Fullerton, Humphrey, Va., Surg.
Fullon, James, Pa., Surg. in Hospital, Philada.
Gale, Benj., Conn., Exam. Surg.
Gale, Samuel, Conn., Surg.
Galt, John Minson, Va., Hosp. Surg.
Galt, Patrick, Va., Surg.
Garden, Alex., S. C., Surg. to Prisoners.
Gardiner, Richard, Pa., Surg.
Gardiner, Samuel, Mass., Com. of Suffolk.
Gardner, John, N. Y., Surg. Mate.
Gardner, Joseph, Pa., Signer of Cont'l bills of credit.
Gardner, N., N. Y., Gen. and Surg.
Gay, Samuel, Va., Surg.
Geekie, James, N. C., Surg.
Gerwood, Wm., Md., Surg. Mate.
Gibson, John, Va., Surg. Mate.
Giddings, John, N. H., Assembly.
Gilbert, Ebenezer, Surg. of Ship "Revenge."
Gilder, Reuben, Del., Surg.
Giles, Dr., Apothecary General.
Gill, James, Surg. of Artillery.
Gillett, * * *, S. C., Surg.
Gilman, Josiah, N. H., Inspector of Saltpetre.
Gilmer, George, Va., Hosp. Surg.
Glentworth, Geo., Pa , Surg.
Glover, Samuel H., Mass , Surg. Mate.
Goodwin, Francis L. B., Mass. Surg. Mate.
Gordan, James, Md., allowed to import chest of medicine.
Goss, Eben Harden, Mass., Surg.
Gould, David, Va., Surg. Mate.
Gould, David, Sr., Va., Surg.
Gould, Witham, Va., Surg.
Gove, John, N. H., Hillsborough Co. Cong.
Graham, Andrew, Conn., Surg Mate.
Graham, Chauncy, N. Y., attended sick.
Graham, Geo., N. Y., Surg. Mate.
Graham, Isaac, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Graham, Isaac Gilbert, N. Y., Surg. Mate.
Graham, John Augustus, N. Y., attended a prisoner.
Graham, Lewis, N. Y., Prov. Cong.
Graham, Robert, N. Y., Prov. Cong.
Graham, Stephen, N. Y., Surg. Mate.
Graham, Wm., Va., Surg. Mate.
Grant, Daniel, Md., furnished a room to Com. Safety.
Gray, James, Md., Com. of Observation.
Gray, Samuel, Mass., had charge of prisoners.
Gray, Thomas, Mass , Surg. Mate.
Gray, Thomas, Conn , Surg. Mate.
Green, Benjamin, N. H , Surg. Mate.
Green, Charles, Va., Surg.
Green, Ezra, N. H., Surg. Navy.
Green, James, N. C., Surg
Green, Peter, N. H., Surg.
Greene, Jas. W., N C., Phys. and Surg.
Greer, Charles, Va., Surg
Gregg, Amos, Pa., Supr. Ex. Coun. Pa.
Gregur, Dr. * * *, N. Y., Surg.
Grier, Chas., Va., Navy.
Griffin, Corbin, Va., State Surg.
Griffith, David, Va., Surg. and Chap.
Griffith, John, Md., Services in Hosp. at Balt.
Griffiths, S. P., Pa., served wounded.
Gross, Ebenezer H., N. H., Surg.

Guest, James, Pa., Surg and Lieut.
Guild, Samuel, Surg. Mate on Frigate "Alliance."
Guion, Isaac, N C., Surg.
Guiteau, Ephraim, Mass., Prov. Cong.
Guston, Dr. * * *, Surg. Mate.
Hagan, Francis, N. Y., Assist.-Surg.
Haig, Dr., * * *, S. C., Gen'l Ass'mbly.
Hale, Mordecai, N. Y., Surg. Mate.
Haley, J., S. C., Surg. Mate.
Hall, Jeremiah, Mass., Prov. Cong.
Hall, John, Me., Surg. Mate.
Hall, Joseph, Md., Surg.
Hall, Lyman, Ga., Cont. Cong.
Hall, Mordecai, N. Y., Surg. Mate.
Hall, Nathaniel, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Hall, Percival, Mass., Surg.
Hall, Robert, N. C., Surg.
Hall, Wm., Md., Surg.
Halliday, Leonard, Md., Com. of Observation.
Hallet, Joseph, freighted goods for Cont. Cong.
Halling, S , Pa., Surg. Hosp. Bethelem.
Halsey, Silas, N. Y., Com. of Observation.
Halsey, Stephen, N. Y., Surg.
Hamilton, James, Pa., Surg. Mate.
Hamm, Valentine, Va., Surg.
Hammell, John, N. Y., applied for a Surgeoncy.
Hammell, John, N. J., Surg. Mate.
Hampton, John, N. J., Surg.
Hand, Edward, Pa., Surg. and Brig.-Gen.
Hansford, Cary H., Va., Surg. Mate.
Harris, Chas., N. C., Doctor.
Harris, Isaac, N. J., Surg. Mate.
Harris, Jacob, N. J., Surg.
Harris, Robert, Pa., Surg. Mate.
Harris, Robert, Pa., manufactured Gunpowder for Cong.
Harris (Tucker), S. C., Surg.
Harrison, Elisha, Md., Surg. Mate.
Harrison, Joseph, Hosp. Surg. at Bethlehem.
Hart, John, Mass., Surg.
Hart, Josiah, Conn. Surg.
Hart, Oliver. N. C., Surg. Mate.
Hart, Wm., N. J., Com. of Cor.
Harvey, Josiah, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Hastings, Walter, Mass., Surg.
Hatch, Josiah, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Hathaway, Daniel, Mass., Surg.
Haviland, Ebenezer, N Y., Surg.
Hawse, James. Mass., Prov. Cong.
Hay, Joseph, Va., Surg.
Hayne, Ezekiel. Md , Surg.
Haynes, Pardon, Mass., Soldier, etc.
Hayward, Lemuel, Mass., Surg.
Hazleton, John, Vt., Surg. Mate.
Henderson, G., Surg. Mate in Navy.
Henderson, Thomas, N. J., Com. of Observation.
Hendry, Thomas, N. J , Surg. Mate.
Henry, Robt. R., N. J., Surg.
Herrick, Martin, Mass., Surg.
Hewins, Elijah, Mass., Surg.
Hewitt, Caleb, Pa., Surg.
Hezzeltine, Saml., Mass., Surg. Mate.
Hill, John, N. Y., sought appoint. of Surg
Hilton, Isaac, Me., Surg.
Hindman, John, Md., Surg.
Hinds, Nehemiah, Mass., Chief Surg.
Hitchcock, Gad, Mass., Surg.
Hodge, Hugh, Pa., Surg. Mate.
Hodgkins, Francis, N. H., Surg. Mate.
Holbrook, Amos, Mass., Surg.
Holbrook, Silas, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Hole, Dr., Pa., Col. and Surg.
Holeky, John, Surg. Mate on Frigate "Alliance."
Holmes, David, Conn., Surg.
Holmes, David, Va., Surg.
Holmes, James, N. J., Surg.
Holmes, Silas, Conn., Surg.
Holten, Samuel, Mass., House Reps.
Homans, John, Mass., Surg.
Hopkins, Lemuel, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Horton, Jonathan, N. J., Surg.
Hosmer, Timothy, Conn., Surg.
Hugh, Walter, Conn., Surg.
Houston, James, S. C., Surg.
Hovey, Ivory, N. H., Surg.
How, Nehemiah, Mass., attended sick.
Howard, Ephraim, Md., Mem. Conv.
Howard, Lemuel, Mass., Surg.
Howard, Thomas Henry, Md., Surg. Mate.
Howell, Lewis, N J., Surg.
Hubard, Leverett, Exam. Surg.
Hubbard, Jacob, N. J., Surg.
Humbery, Fred., N. C., Surg. Mate.
Hunt, Joseph, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Hunter, George, Va., Surg. in Navy.
Hurd, Isaac, Mass., Surg.
Hutchinson, James, Pa., Navy Hosp.
Hyde, Phineas, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Imes, John, N. Y., Com. of Observation.
Ingram, J., N. C., Surg.
Ireland, John, Md., Com. of Observation.
Irvine, Matthew, Va., Surg.
Irvine, Wm., S. C., Surg.
Ives, Levi, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Jackson, David. Pa., Surg.
Jackson, Hall, N. H., Surg.

Jackson, Joshua Hall, N. H.
Jameson, David, rendered services to soldiers.
Jamieson, Wm., Mass., Surg.
Jemmison, Wm., Mass., Prov. Cong.
Jenifer, Daniel, Jr., Md., Surg.
Jenifer, Daniel, Md., Surg.
Jennings, Jacob, of N. J., Surg.
Jennings, John, Va., Surg. Mate Navy.
Jennings, Michael, Pa., Surg.
Jepson, Wm., Conn., Surg.
Jerauld, Gorton, R. I., Surg.
Jewell, Gibbons, Conn., Reg't Surg.
Jewett, Gibbon, Conn., Surg.
Johnes, Timothy, N. J., Surg.
Johnson, Dr., N. Y., Surg.
Johnson, Edward, Md., Com. of Observations.
Johnson, John, Md., Surg. Mate.
Johnson, Robert, N. Y., Phys. Gen. Hosp.
Johnson, Robert, Pa., Surg.
Johnston, Uzal, N. J., Surg.
Johnston, Wm., Surg Mate Navy.
Johonnot, Wm., France, Assist. Apoth. Gen. for Hosp. Dept. Potomac.
Jones, Dr. * * *, N. H., Surg.
Jones, David, Mass., Surg.
Jones, James, Pa., Surg.
Jones, John, N. Y., Surg. and Examiner.
Jones, Nathaniel, Mass., Com. Safety.
Jones, N. W., Ga., Spr. Ga. House.
Jones, Reuben, N. H., Ck., Com. N. H. Grants.
Jones, Timothy, N. J., Surg.
Jones, Thomas, N. Y., made Inventory of Med.
Jones, Walter, Va., Surg.
Jordan, Clement, Mass., Com. Cor.
Joslyn, Joseph, R. I., Surg.
Julian, John, Va., Surg.
Kameston, Reuben, protested against leaving Onion River.
Keemle, John, Pa., Surg.
Keene, Saml. F., Md., Surg. Mate.
Kemp, Thomas, Va., Surg. Mate.
Kenedy, Joseph, N. C., Com. purchase Military Stores.
Kennedy, Samuel, Pa., Surg.
Keys, Zacariah, N. Y., Surg. Mate.
Kilty, Wm., Md., Surg.
King, Jonathan, Mass., petitioned Congress to Manufacture Chemicals.
King, Miles, Va., Surg. Mate.
Kingberry, Asa, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Kittredge, Thos., Mass., Surg.
Kneeland, Dr., Mass., the Records of the Probate Office were secured in his house.
Knight, Isaac, Conn., Surg.
Knight, John, Va., Surg. Mate.
Knight, Jno., Va., Surg.
Knight, Jonathan, Conn., Surg.
Knood, Samuel Y., Md., Surg. Mate.
Knowles, James, N. H., House of Reps.
Kuhn, Adam, Pa., Director-General of Hospital.
Ladley, Andrew, Pa., Surg. 12th Pa.
Lajournade, Alex., Va. or Md., Surg. Mate, in Artillery.
Land, Chas., Va., Surg. Mate.
Landrum, Thomas, Va., Surg. Mate in Navy and Army.
Langton, Wm., Mass., Surg. Mate.
Latham, Dr. * * *, N. Y., attended a sick soldier.
Latimer, Henry, Del., Surg.
Lay, Lee, Conn., Com. of Safety.
Leavenworth, Nathan, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Ledger, Dr. * * *, N. Y., Surg. Mate.
Ledlie, Andrew, Pa., Surg.
Ledyard, Isaac, N. Y., Surg. Mate.
Lee, Arthur, Va., Diplomatist.
Lee, Jonathan, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Lee, Joseph, N. H., attended sick soldiers.
Lee, Samuel, Conn., Surg. ship "Oliver Cromwell."
Leibt, Michael, Pa., attended soldiers.
Lemmon, Robert, Md., Com. of Observation.
Lewis, Joseph, Conn., Surg.
Lewis, Wm, N. C, Surg. Mate.
Lind, * * *, Surg. Canada Dept.
Linn, John, Director of Hosp. in district of Quebec.
Little, Dr. * * *, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Livingston, Justice, Va., Surg. in Navy.
Lockman, Chas., S. C., Surg. Mate.
Lockman, John, S. C., Hosp. Surg. Mate.
Long, John, Mass., Surg.
Loomis, Jonathan, N. C., Surg. Mate.
Lord, Elisha, Coun., Exam. Surg.
Lord, John, Mass., Surg.
Lord, Josiah, Surg.
Loree or Loring, Ephraim, N J., Surg. Mate.
Loring, Geo. Bailey, Mass., Hosp. Surg.
Lothrop, Dr. * * *, furnished Med.
Love, David, N. C., acct. settled for services in Revolutionary War.
Ludwig, Chas., Pa., Surg.
Lyles, Richard, Md., Surg. Mate.
Lynd, John, Surg. in Canada.
Lynn, Jno. L., N. Y., Surg.

Lyon or Lyons, John, Va , Surg. Mate.
Lyon, Wm., Md., Com. of Observation.
Macck, Jacob, N. Y., Surg. on Lakes.
Mackay, Andrew, Mass., Surg.
Mackay, Robert, Va , Surg.
Mackenzie, * * *, Md., authorized to buy Medicines.
Maclean, Wm., N. C., Surg. Mate.
Magaw, Wm., Pa., Surg.
Malcolm, Henry, Pa., Surg. Navy.
Manis, James, Md., Surg.
Mann, James, N. Y., Surg.
Mann, Oliver, Mass., Surg.
Mann, Perez, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Manning, John, Mass., Surg.
Manning, Luther, Conn., Surg. Mate.
March, Dr. * * *, N. H., House of Rep.
Marshall, Jenifer, Va., Surg. Mate Navy.
Marshall, Thomas, Md., Surg.
Martin, Ennals, Md., Surg. Mate.
Martin, Hugh, Va., Surg. Mate.
Martin, Hugh, Pa., Surg.
Martin, James, N. C., Surg. Navy.
Martin, John R., Surg. Mate.
Marvin, Ebenezer, Mass., Services and furnished Medicines.
Marvin, Joseph, N. Y., Surg.
Mason, Reuben, R. I., Surg.
Mather, Eleazer, Conn., Surg.
Mather, Samuel, Conn., Surg. and Capt.
Mather, Timothy, R. I., Surg.
Mattoon, Samuel, N. H., attended sick soldiers.
Maus, Matthew, Pa., Surg.
McAdams, Joseph, Va., Surg. Mate.
McCalla, Thos. H., S. C., Reg. Surg.
McCalla, Thos. M., Pa., Surg.
McCarter, Chas., N. J., Surg.
McCauley, Dr., Conn., Surg. taken prisoner.
McClean, Dr., N. Y., furnished Ship "Asia" with Medicine.
McClean, Archibald, Pa., siezed Estates of Loyalists.
McCloskey, Samuel A., Pa., Surg.
McClosky, Wm., Pa., Surg. Mate.
McClure, Wm., N. C., Surg.
McClurg, James, Va., Surg.
McClurg, Walter, Va., Surg.
McCoffrey, Samuel A., Pa., Surg.
McCoskey, Alex., Pa., Surg.
McCoskey, Wm , Pa., Surg. Mate.
McCowell, D., Pa., Surg. of Phila. Army Hosp.
McCrea, Stephen, N. Y., Surg.
McDonough, Thomas, Del., Major.
McDowl, John, Pa., Surg.
McElyea, John, N. C., Surg.
McHenry, Matthew, Pa., Surg. Prov. Ship "Montgomery."
McKenney, * * *, Surg. Canada Dept.
McKenry, James, Pa., Surg. and Major.
McKenzie, Samuel, Pa., Surg.
McKinly, John, Del., Surg.
McKnitt, Joseph, N. C., Conv. and Com. Safety.
McKnight, Chas., N Y., Surg.
McLain, Wm., Va., Surg. Mate.
McMeechen, Wm., Va., Surg.
McNickle, John, Va., Surg. Mate,
McNight, * * *, N. Y., Hosp. Surg.
Mead, Amos, Conn., Memb. Assembly.
Mead, Wm., N. Y., Surg.
Mechen, Wm., Va., Surg.
Menema, Daniel, N. Y., Surg.
Mercer, Hugh, Va., Surg. and Brig.-Gen.
Merriam, Silas, Mass., Surg.
Merrick, Samuel Fiske, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Metcalf, Dr. * * *, N. Y., Surg.
Middleton, Alex., Va., furnished Med. Army.
Middleton, Bassett, Va., Surg.
Middleton, Peter, N. Y., attended prisoners.
Miller, Aaron John, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Miller, Benj., N. Y., Surg.
Miller, Edward, Del., Hosp. Mate.
Miller, Finley, Md., Surg. Mate 26th Regt.
Miller, John, Del., Surg.
Minot, Tim'y, Mass., attended wounded at Concord.
Molleson, Wm., Md., Com. of Corr.
Monroe, Geo., Del., Surg.
Montgomery, Samuel, R I., Surg.
Mooers, Dr. * * *, N. H., applied for Commission.
Moore, Henry, N. Y., Hosp. Surg. Mate.
Moore, Saml., Surg.
Moore, Samuel Preston, Pa., Prov. Treasurer.
Mory, Samuel, N. H., Surg. Mate.
Morgan, Abel, Pa., Surg. and Lieut.
Morgan, Benj., Mass., Surg. Mate.
Morgan, Bennet, N. C., Surg. Mate.
Morgan, John, Pa., Phys. and Director-General of Hospitals.
Morrill, Samuel, N. H., rendered professional services.
Morris, James, Md., Surg.
Morris, Jonathan, Pa., Committee of Safety.
Morris, Jonathan Ford, N. J., Surg. and Lieut.

Morrow. Dr * * *, Surg. of Ship "Hyder Ali."
Morrow, David, Md., Surg.
Morrow, Samuel, Md., Surg.
Morse, Moses, Mass., Prov. Cong.
Motett, Lewis, S. C., Surg.
Moultrie, John, S. C., Surg.
Mullican. Isaac, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Munro, Stephen, R. I., Surg. Mate.
Munroe, George, Va., Surg.
Munson, Aneas, Conn., Surg.
Murdock, James, N. J., discharged from Surgeoncy.
Murray, David, Va., Surg. Mate Navy.
Murray, Henry, Va., Surg.
Murrow, David, Md., Surg.
Murry, Wm., furnished Med. and rendered Prof. services.
Neal, Francis, Md., Surg. Mate.
Nelson, John, Md., Surg.
Neufville, Wm., S. C., Regt. Surg.
Newman, * * *, Pa., Surg. Mate.
Nichols, Moses, N. H., General and House of Representatives.
Nicholson, Geo., N. Y., applied for Surg. Mate.
Nicholson, Robert, Va., Surg.
Norton, Elias, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Noyes, Enoch, N. H., Prov. Cong.
Noyes, John, Conn., Surg.
Nye, Samuel, Mass., Surg. Navy.
Olcott, Geo., Conn., Surg.
Oldenbruck, Daniel, Pa , Surg.
Oliphant, David, S. C., Surg. Director-General S. Army.
Oliver, Nathaniel, Mass., Surg. Mate.
O'Neal, Francis, Pa., Surg.
Osborn, Cornelius, N. Y., Surg.
Osborn, John, N. Y., furnished Supplies.
Osgood. Dr., Mass., Surg.
Otto, Bodo, Pa., Surg
Otto, Bodo, Jr., N J., Surg. Mate.
Otto, Frederick, N. J., Surg.
Otto, John, Pa., Surg. Mate.
Outwater, Thomas, N. Y., Com. of Observation.
Packer, * * *, Surg. Northern Dept.
Page, William, Vt., Surg.
Pallifer, Jacques, R. I., Surg. Mate.
Paris, Peter, Pa., Surg.
Parish, John, R. I., Surg. Mate.
Park, Daniel, Mass., Surg.
Parke, Thomas, Pa., attended Soldiers.
Parker, Daniel, Mass.
Parker, Wm., N. H., Surg Navy.
Parker, Wm., Jr., N. H., Surg.
Parley, Abraham, Mass., Surg.
Parnham, John, Md., Com. of Observation.
Parton, Wm., N. C., Surg.
Pasture, Wm , N. C., Surg.
Patterson, Robert, N. J., Surg. Mate.
Patterson, Robert, Pa., Surg.
Payton, V., Pa., Surg. Mate Hosp.
Peabody, Nathaniel, Mass , Surg. and Gen.
Peabody, Thos., N. H., Chairman Com. Safety.
Peacock, John, Surg. Mate.
Peason, David, N. J., Surg. Militia.
Peck, Chas., N. Y., Surg. (employed as).
Pelham, Wm., Va., Surg.
Pell, Ithurial, N. Y., Surg.
Pell, Jos. S., Va., Surg. in State Navy.
Pell, Salua, N. Y., Surg.
Peres, Peter, Pa , Surg.
Perkins, Abijah, N. Y., Lieut.
Perkins, Elisha, Surg. Mate on "Bon Homme."
Perkins, Elisha, Conn., Surg.
Perkins, Joseph, R. I., furnished Surgical Insts.
Perkins, Richard, Mass., Prov. Cong.
Perkins, Seth, N. Y., Signer of N. Y. Association.
Perkins, Wm., Mass., supplied Medicines.
Perry, Benj., Pa., Surg.
Perry, Benj. S., S. C., Regt. Surg.
Perry, John, Md., Surg.
Perry, Joshua, R. I., Surg.
Peters, Alex. A., N. C., Surg. Mate.
Peyton, Valentine, Va., Surg.
Phile, John, Pa., Surg. Mate.
Phillips, Theophilus, N. Y., Signed Association.
Phyle, Frederick, Pa., attended 5th Pa. Battalion.
Pierson, Matthew, N. J., Com. of Observation.
Pierson, Silas, N. Y., Candidate for Captaincy.
Pindall, Richard, Md., Surg.
Pindell, John, Md., Surg.
Pine, John, Md., Surg.
Pitcher, John, Mass., Surg.
Pitt, John, Va., Surg. Navy.
Platt, Samuel, Pa., Surg. Mate.
Pointsette, E., S. C., Surg. Mate.
Poll, John Simon, Va., Surg.
Pond, Elisha, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Pomeroy, John, Vt., Surg. Mate.
Pool, Jonathan, N. H., Surg. Mate.
Pope, Matthew, Va., Surg.
Porter, Andrew, Md., recommended for Surgeoncy.
Porter, Benj. Jones, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Porter, Joshue, Jr., Surg. Mate Navy.

Potter, Gilbert, N. Y., Com. Safety.
Potter, Jared, Conn., Surg.
Potter, Zabdiel, Md., Surg.
Pottinger, Robert, Md., Com. Cor.
Potts, Jonathan, Pa., Surg. Director-General of Hosp.
Poyas, John G., S. C. Hosp. Surg. Mate.
Pratt, Shuball, Va., Surg.
Prealeau, P. S., S. C., Surg.
Prescott, Joseph, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Prescott, James, S. C., Surg.
Prescott, Oliver, Mass., Surg.
Preston, Amariah, Conn., Patriot.
Preston, John, N. H., Patriot and Judge.
Prior, Abner, N. Y., Surg. Mate.
Prudden, Thos., Pa., Hosp. Surg. Mate.
Putnam, Aaron, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Pynchon, Chas., Mass., Prov. Cong.
Quinlan, James, Va., Surg.
Radloff, Jno. Fred., Mass., Surg. Mate.
Ragne, John, Pa., Surg.
Rainey, Stephen, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Ramsay, David, S. C., Surg. and Statesman.
Ramsay, Jesse H., S. C., Surg. Mate.
Ramsay, John, Pa., Surg.
Ramsay, J. W., S. C., Surg.
Ramsay, Jos. H., S. C., Hosp. Surg. Mate.
Ramsey, John, Va., Surg.
Rand, Isaac, Mass., Surg.
Rawson, Dr. * * *, Mass., Prov. Cong.
Ray, Andre, Va., Surg.
Read, Thos. C., N. J., Surg. Mate.
Read, Wm., S. C., Hosp. Surg.
Read, Wm., Physician in Gen. Hosp.
Redman, Joseph, Jr., Pa., Surg.
Reed, Thomas, N. J., Hosp. Surg.
Reeder, Henry, Md., Com. Corr.
Reid, Dr. * * *, Va., Capt.
Reid, Thos., N. Y., Surg.
Reiger, Jacob, Pa., Surg.
Reinick, Christian, Pa., Surg. Mate.
Renderson, Dr. * * *, N. Y., Com. Observation.
Reynolds, John, Va., Surg. Navy.
Rhodes, Joseph, R. I., Surg. Mate.
Rice, Dr. * * *, Mass., Prov. Cong.
Richards, Samuel, Surg. Navy.
Richards, Wm., Surg. Mate.
Richardson, Abijah, Mass., Surg.
Richmond, Ebenezer, R. I., Surg. Mate.
Rickman, Wm., Va., Surg. and Director-General Hospital.
Ridgely, Frederick, Md., Surg.
Ridgely, Frederick, Mass., made Inventory of Medicines.
Ricker, John Berrien, N. J., Surg.
Ringgold, Jacob, Md., distributed Powder.
Ritchmond, John, Mass., Surg. Brig. "Reprisal."
Rittenhouse, Dr. * * *, Pa., appt. by Com. Safety to Supt. Construction of work.
Roan, Dr. * * *, N. J., Surg.
Robäck, Jacob, Vt., Surg.
Roberts, John, Va., Surg.
Roberts, Peter, Mass., House of Reps.
Robinson, Dr. * * *, Md., attended Capt. Forrest's Co.
Robinson, Robt., Pa., Surg. Mate.
Robinson, Thos., Pa., solicited Surgeoncy.
Robinson, Wm., Mass, Surg. Mate.
Roche or Roach, Nicholas, N. J., Surg.
Rodgers, Nathaniel, N. H., Surg. Navy.
Roe, Wm., Va., Surg. Navy.
Rogers, John R. B., Pa., Surg.
Rogers, Theophilus, Conn., Com. Corr.
Rogue, John, N. J., Surg. Mate
Root, Josiah, Jr, Surg. Mate Navy.
Root, Josiah, Conn., Apoth. Gen. Conn.
Rose, John, Conn., Surg.
Rose, Prosper, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Rose, Robert, Va., Surg.
Ross, Alexander, N. J., Surg.
Rosseter, Timothy Wm., Geo., Surg. Mate.
Rossiter or Rossater, Wm., Conn., Surg. Mate.
Rumney, Wm., Sr., Va., Hosp. Surg.
Rush, Benj., Pa., Surg. and Patriot.
Rush, Richard, Pa., Ex. Surg.
Russell, Edward, Mass., distributed Ammunition.
Russell, Philip, Pa., Surg. Mate.
Russell, Philip M., Va., Surg. Mate.
Russell, Thomas, Conn., Surg.
Russell, Thomas, Conn., Surg. of Col. Swift's Regiment.
Russell, Wm., Pa., Surg. Navy.
Sackett, John, N. Y., Surg. Mate.
Sackett, Samuel, Conn., Surg.
St. Clair Arthur, Pa., Brig.-Gen.
Sands, Edward, N. Y., Surg. Mate.
Saple, John A., Mass., Surg.
Sarringhause, Wm, Pa., attended Co. of German Battalion.
Savage, Jos., Va., Surg. Mate.
Sawyer, Eben., Mass., Council Safety.
Sawyer, Micajah, Mass., Prov. Cong.
Sawyer, Wm., Mass., Surg. Mate.
Scammel, John, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Schenck, Henry H., N. Y., Surg.
Schenck, Henry N., N. J., Surg.

Schuyler, Nicholas, N. Y., Surg.
Scott, Daniel, Mass., requested to report on Medicine.
Scott, John, Md., Com. of Corr.
Scott, Moses, N. J., Surg.
Scudder, John, N. J., Surg. Mate.
Scudder, John A., Pa., Surg. Mate.
Scudder, Nathaniel, N. J., Surg. Prov. Cong.
Scull, Nicholas, Surg.
Seigle, Frederick, Va., Surg.
Selden, Samuel, Conn., Surg.
Selden, Wilson Cary, Va., Surg.
Seldon, Daniel, Va., Surg. Mate.
Sensinney, John, Pa., attended a sick soldier.
Senter, Isaac, N. H., Surg. and Major.
Serjeant, Erastus, Mass., Surg. and Major.
Sharp, James S., Ga , Surg.
Sharpless, John, Va. Surg. in Navy.
Sheldon, Daniel, Conn., Surg.
Shephard, David, Mass., Surg.
Shepperd, Levi, Mass., Commissary Militia.
Sherwood, Dr. * * *, N. Y. Convention.
Shippen, Wm., Jr., Pa., Director-General of Hosp.
Shute, Daniel, Mass., Surg.
Sibley, John, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Sill, Elisha, Conn., Exam. Surg.
Silsby, Dr. * * *, Mass., Surg.
Simpson, John, Conn., Surg.
Skinner, Alex , Va , Surg.
Skinner, Elisha, Me , Surg.
Skinner, Thos., Conn., Surg.
Slaughter, Augustine, Va., Surg.
Small, Wm., Md , Com. of Observation.
Smith, Alexander, Md., Surg. Mate and Chaplain.
Smith, Cheney, N. H., Surg. Mate.
Smith, Dan., Vt., Surg. Mate.
Smith, Francis, Pa., furnished Med.
Smith, Isaac, N. Y., Surg. Mate.
Smith, Jabez, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Smith, Nathan, Va., Surg. Mate.
Smith, Nathan, Vt., served in Vt. militia.
Smith, Reuben, Conn , Exam. Surg.
Smith, Robert, S. C., Hosp. Surg. Mate and Chaplain.
Smith, Samuel, Surg. Navy.
Smith, Timothy, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Smith, Walter, Md , Surg
Smith, Wm., Pa., Druggist Cont. Army.
Smith, Wm., Pa., Sr., Surg.-Gen. Hosp. Phila.
Smith, Wm. H., Pa., Surg. Mate.
Smith, Wm., P., N. Y., Surg. Mate.
Smyth, George, N. Y., Prov. Cong.
Snead, Robert, Va., Surg. Navy.
Southmayd, Daniel, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Spalding, John, Conn., Surg.
Sparham, Dr. * * *, N. Y., Surg.
Speight, Richard, applied for Surg.
Spencer, Jos., Va., Surg.
Spofford, Isaac, Mass., Surg.
Spooner, Paul, N. Y., Convention.
Spooner, Wm., Surg. in Navy.
Sprague, John, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Sprague, John, Mass., State Conv.
Spring, Dr. * * *, Mass., rented his house for Hosp.
Springer, Sylvester, S. C , Surg. Mate.
Standly, Valentine, Pa., Surg. Pa. Navy.
Starr, Justus, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Stenhouse, Alex., Md., furnished Med.
Stephens, Wm., Pa., furnished Med.
Stephenson, Geo., Pa., Surg. Mate.
Stephenson, Jno. R., N. Y., Surg. Mate.
Stephenson, John, N. Y., Surg. Mate.
Stern, Dr. N. H., Gen. Assembly.
Stevens, Phineas, N. Y., Inoculated Officers.
Stevens, Wm. S., S. C., Hosp. Surg. Mate.
Stevenson, Geo., Pa., Hosp. Surg. Mate.
Stewart, Alex., Pa., Surg.
Stewart, James, Md., Surg.
Stinson, Wm., N. H., attended wounded Soldiers.
Stockett, Thos. Noble, Md., Hosp. Surg. Mate.
Stockton, Benj., N. J., Surg. Mate.
Stockton, Benj. B., N. Y., Surg.
Stockton, Eben, N. H., Surg.
Stoddard, Darius, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Storrs, Justice, Conn., Surg.
Story, Elisha, Mass., Surg.
Stringer, Samuel, N. Y., Hosp. Surg.
Sullivan, Dr. * * *, Mass., Volunteer with Howe.
Sunn, Frederick, S. C., Regt. Surg.
Sutton, Edward, Conn., Surg.
Swayer, Wm., Mass., Surg. Mate.
Sweet, Caleb, N. Y., Surg.
Swett, J. B., Mass., Surg.
Swift, Isaac, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Swoop, Joseph, Va., Surg. Navy.
Swope, John, Va., Surg. Navy.
Tabbs, Barton, Md., Surg. Mate.
Tappan, Peter, N. Y., Surg.
Tate, James, Pa., Surg.
Tate, John, Pa., furnished Supplies.
Taylor, Charles, Va., Surg.
Taylor, Christian, Pa., Surg. Mate Invalid Regt.

Taylor, Christopher, Pa., Surg. Mate.
Taylor, David, N. H., House of Reps.
Taylor, John, Mass., Mass. Prov. Cong.
Taylor, John, Mass., Surg. Mass. Prov. Cong.
Teller, Abraham, N. Y., named for Surgeoncy.
Tenny, Samuel, R. I., Surg.
Tetard, Benj., Ga., Surg.
Texier, Felix, France, Surg.
Thacher, James, Mass., Surg.
Thaxter, Gridley, Mass., Surg.
Thom, Isaac, N. H., services to wounded Bunker Hill.
Thomas, John, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Thomas, John, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Thomas, Philip, Md., Council of Safety.
Thomas, Wm., Mass., Surg.
Thompson, Ebenezer, N. H., Com. of Safety.
Thompson, Joseph, Pa., Surg. Mate.
Thompson, Thaddeus, Mass., Surg.
Thorn, Isaac, N. H., furnished Med.
Tillotson, Thomas, N. Y., Phys. and Surg.-Gen.
Tillotson, Wm., Va., Surg.
Tilton, James, Del., Hosp. Surg. and Surg.-Gen., 1812.
Todd, Andrew, Pa., Surg. of Ship "Gen. Greene."
Todd, Jonathan, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Toomer, Anthony, S. C., Surg.
Tootell, Richard, Md., Surgeon Major.
Townsand, David, Mass., Surg. at Bunker Hill.
Townsend, Platt, Conn., Exam. Surg.
Tracey, Elisha, Conn., Exam. Surg.
Tracey, Philemon, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Treat, Malachi, N. Y., Surg. Director of Hosp.
Treatie, Samuel, Vt., furnished Med.
Tresvant, John, Va., Surg.
Trimble, James, Va., Surg. Mate.
Troop, Charles, Md., Com. of Safety.
Troup, John, Md., Com. of Observation.
Trouen, M., France, Surg. Major, offered his services to the Colonies.
Truman, Thos., R. I., attended wounded Soldiers.
Tucker, Thos. T., S. C., Hosp. Surg.
Tudor, * * * , Conn., Surg.
Tufts, Cotton, Mass., Surg.
Tunison, Garrett, Va., Surg.
Tupper, * * * Mass., Com. of Safety.
Turnbull, Andrews, S. C., Surg.
Turner, Peter, R. I., Surg.
Turner, Philip, Coun., Surg. Director Hosp.
Turnison, * * *, Mass., captured a British Corporal.
Upham, Benj. Allen, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Usher, Robert, Conn., Surg.
Vacher, John F., N. Y., Surg.
Van Boskirk, Abraham, N. J., Surg.
Van De Linden, Dr. * * *, N. Y., Surg. Mate.
Van Der Lynn, Peter, N. Y., Surg.
Van Dych, Dr. * * *, N. Y., commissioned to collect £200 from N. Y. Conv.
Van Ingen, Dirk, Pa., Hosp. Surg.
Van Leer, Bremon, Pa., Com. of Safety.
Vanlier, Benj., Va., Com. of Observation.
Van Waggener, Garrett, Pa., Surg. Mate.
Varnum, Benj., Mass., Surg. Mate.
Vaughn, Claiborne, Va., Surg. Mate.
Vickers, Samuel, N. J., Surg. Mate.
Vickers, Samuel, S. C., Surg.
Vickers, T., Surg.
Vinal, Wm., Mass., Surg. Mate.
Voght, Christian, Pa., manufacturer of Saltpetre.
Walcott, Alex., Conn., Exam. Surg.
Walcott, Christopher, Conn., Surg.
Walcott, Thomas, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Walcut, James, R. I., Surg. Mate.
Waldo, Albigeren, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Waldo, John, Conn., Surg.
Wales, Ephraim, Mass., recompensed for services.
Walker, Thomas, Va., Comm'r of Indian Affairs.
Wallace, James, Va., Surg.
Wallace, John, Md., Md. Convention.
Wallace, Michael, Md., Surg. Mate.
Ward, Preserve, N. J., Surg. Mate.
Warfield, Chas. Alex., Md., Surg.
Warfield, Walter, Md., Surg.
Warren, John, Mass., Surg.
Warren, Joseph, Mass., Surg. and Gen.
Warren, Patrick, N. H., Surg. Mate.
Warren, Peletiah, Mass., Surg.
Washburn, Azel, N. H., Surg.
Waterman, Phillis, Md., attended sick.
Waterous, Josiah, Conn., Surg Mate.
Waters, Wilson, N. Y., Surg Mate.
Watrous, John R., Conn., Surg. Mate.
Watson, Abraham, Mass., Surg.
Watson, Samuel, R. I., Surg.
Watts, Edward, Mass., Surg. for Sea Coast Men.
Way, Nicholas, Pa., remunerated for attending sick.
Weatherspoon, J., S. C., Surg.
Weaver, * * *, Pa., Surg. in Militia.
Weed, * * *, Phila., attended soldiers.

Weeks, * * *, R. I., assisted in destruction of "Gaspee."
Weeks, John, N. H., furnished Med.
Welch, Robert, Md., Surg. Mate.
Welch, Thomas, Mass., Surg.
Welles, Benj., Conn., Surg. Mate.
West, * * *, Pa., Surg.
Wetherill, John, N. J., Prov. Cong.
Wharry, Robert, S. C., Regt. Surg. Mate.
Wharton, Levi, R. I., Surg.
Wheeler, Dr. * * *, Mass., Prov. Cong.
Wheeler, Chas., Va., Surg.
Wheeler, John, N. C., rendered professional services.
Wheeler, Lemuel, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Wheeler, Lemuel, Conn., Surg.
Wheeler, Wm., N. Y., Surg.
Wheelock, John, N. H., N. H. Cong.
Whipple, Daniel Peck, R. I., Surg.
White, Henry, N. Y., Surg.
White, John, N. C., Capt. and Adjutant.
White, John, Geo., Surg. and Col.
White, Wm., or Wm. S., Va., Surg. Mate Navy.
Whitewell, Samuel, Mass., Surg.
Whiting, Israel, N. Y., Surg. Mate 21st Regt.
Whiting, Samuel, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Whiting, Wm., Mass., Surg. Prov. Cong. Mass.
Wiggins, Thos., N. J., Com. Corr.
Wigglesworth, Samuel, N. H., Surg.
Wigneron, Stephen, R. I., Surg.
Wild, Jonathan, Mass., Surg. Navy.
Wilkins, John, Pa., Surg. Mate.
Wilkinson, James, Md., Surg. and Gen.
Wilkinson, John, R. I., Surg.
Wilkinson, John, Mass., Surg.
Willard, Elias, N. Y., Surg.
Willard, Levi, Mass., Surg.
Willard, Moses, N. Y., Surg. Mate.
Willet, M., Mass., Surg.
Williams, Bedford, Pa., Surg.
Williams, John, N. Y., Prov. Cong.
Williams, John, N. Y., Surg. and Member Prov. Cong.
Williams, Robert, N. C., Surg.
Williamson, Hugh, N. C., Surg.
Wilmot, Aquila, Pa., Hosp. Surg.
Wilson, Goodwin, Pa., Surg. Mate.
Wilson, Lewis, N. J., Hosp. Surg.
Wilson, Robert, N. C., Surg.
Wilson, Samuel, S. C., served under Marion.
Wilson, Samuel, Va., attended 6th Va. Regt.
Wimple, W. V., N. Y., Hosp. Surg. in Canada.
Winans, Wm., N. J., Surg.
Wing, Moses, Me., Surg. Mate.
Wingate, John, Me., Surg.
Wingate, Dr. Joshua, Surg.
Winship, Amos, Dr. on board the "Alliance."
Winslow, Isaac, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Winthrop, Dr. * * *, Mass., House Reps.
Wisenthall, Chas., Md., Surg.
Wistar, Caspar, Pa., asst. wounded soldier.
Witherspoon, John, N. J., Surg. in Hosp.
Witherspoon, John, S. C., Hosp. Surg.
Wittredge, John, R. I., attended American troops.
Wolcott, Alexander, Conn.
Wolcott, Oliver, Conn., Brig.-Gen.
Wood, Geo., N. H. furnished Medicine and rendered services.
Wood, Gerard, Md., Surg. Mate.
Wood, James, N. H., recompensed for extra services.
Wood, John, Conn., Surg.
Wood, Preserve, Conn., Surg. Mate.
Woodruff, Hemlock, N. Y., Surg.
Woodruff, Samuel, N. Y., Surg.
Woodruffe, Aaron, Pa., Surg. Mate.
Woodward, Samuel, Mass., Surg. Mate.
Wootton, Sprigg, Md., Com. of Observation.
Worth, Giles, N. C., services.
Worthington, Chas., Md., Surg.
Wright, Elihu, Mass., Surg.
Wright, John G., N. Y., Surg. Mate.
Wright, Philemon, N. H., Surg.
Wynkoop, * * *, Pa., Surg. Mate.
Yarenpert, Jacob P.
Yates, Geo., Va., Surg. Mate.
York, Roberson, Surg. on privateer.
Young, Dr. * * *, Md., Bd. of Exam. Surgs.
Young, James, Pa., Surg.
Young, John, R. I., Surg. in Army and Navy.
Young, John, Mass., Surg.
Young, Joseph, N. Y., Surg.
Young, Thomas, Pa., Surg., furnished supplies.
Younglove, Moses, N. Y., Surg.

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